HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Kennedy vs. Hoover on 'Bugging'

Why Doesn't Bobby Tell the Truth?

On Feb. 1, 1964, midway through the Chattanooga trial of Jimmy Hoffa on jury tampering charges, lawyers for the defense became convinced that government agents had bugged their suites at the Patten Hotel.

Hoffa's chief attorney then placed a call to Bernard B. Spindel, a nationally known expert on wire tapping and electronic eavesdropping. Spindel, who had performed "debugging" operations for Hoffa on earlier occasions, agreed to fly to Chattanooga.

He packed and shipped, air freight, about 1,000 pounds of electronic equipment, and on Monday morning, February 3, flew not to Chattanooga but to Nashville. Only Spindel and the lawyer who retained him knew of the exact time of his arrival.

But when Spindel's plane touched down, he was immediately "tailed" by two members of the Justice Department's "Get Hoffa" squad.

At Nashville Spindel rented a car and set out for Chattanooga. He was followed by a series of government agents into Chattanooga, all the way to the Patten Hotel, where he disappeared into his client's suite.

How did the government learn that Spindel was even contemplating a trip to Chattanooga? Those who know—members of the "Get Hoffa" detail—aren't saying.

Six months later Spindel was retained by Sidney Zagri, a top Teamster lawyer, to fly to Nashville to check out additional leads on government wire tapping. As in February, Spindel's exact movements were known to the Justice Department. G-men, on hand when he landed at the Nashville airport, tailed him to his motel, with three agents taking rooms on either side and across the court from him. He was under 24-hour surveillance during his entire stay in Nashville.

How did the government know of Spindel's Nashville plans? Again, the G-men aren't saying. There are only two explanations: Either the Teamster phones were bugged or, as the prosecuting attorney maintained on one occasion during the Nashville trial, the government is "psychic."

The Chattanooga-Nashville operation was directed by Walter Sheridan, the Robert Kennedy lieutenant who headed the Justice Department's "Get Hoffa" detail. Both Kennedy and Sheridan were former staffers of the Senate Labor Rackets Committee and zealous foes of the Teamster president.

As committee counsel, Bobby was familiar with the "electronic surveillance" techniques of which he now claims ignorance. On several occasions he played wire-tap recordings at committee hearings in apparent defiance of Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act.

Even before he took over as attorney general Bobby had promised that a Kennedy Administration would put Hoffa behind bars. During his three-and-a-half years as attorney general, Bobby conducted an anti-Hoffa campaign that one Democratic congressman likened to "ruthless jungle warfare." The pro-

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) knows that his request that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover open his files cannot be honored without endangering national security.

Kennedy *New Republic* was equally shocked at the Kennedy vendetta:

"The relentlessness with which the Justice Department pursued James Hoffa is repellent. Perhaps never before has an attorney general gone to such lengths to get his man. Who among us could stay out of jail if the federal government was that determined to put us there?"

The "Get Hoffa" campaign contrasts sharply with Bobby's recent claims that he was unaware of the FBI's use of electronic surveillance throughout his Administration.

For the facts are clear that Kennedy personally approved every wire tap ever installed by the FBI and not only okayed but actually encouraged the use of electronic eavesdropping devices in the fight against organized crime, racial terror and Soviet-bloc espionage.

As FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover wrote Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) December 7, 1966:

"Mr. Kennedy, during his term of office, exhibited great interest in pursuing [electronic eavesdropping] and, while in different metropolitan areas, not only listened to the results of microphone surveillances but raised questions relative to obtaining better equipment. He was briefed frequently by an FBI official regarding such matters."

Kennedy replied to the Hoover charge with a carefully worded statement that denied any knowledge of FBI bugging during the time he was attorney general. But Kennedy was unaware that Hoover had supplied Gross with a photostatic copy of an Aug. 17, 1961, directive signed by Kennedy, giving the FBI authority to step up their "microphone surveillances . . . both in security and major criminal cases."

Release of the document completely demolished Kennedy's claim that he was unfamiliar with FBI bugging. Kennedy then made matters worse for himself by distributing to the press a letter from Courtney Evans, a former FBI official who had been the attorney general's liaison with Hoover.

Evans, now a Justice Department aide, had written Kennedy the letter "in line with your request and in confirmation of our conversation." He maintained that he "did not discuss the use of" microphones with Kennedy.

But the Evans claim is completely untrue, as his own memos disclose. On July 7, 1961, for instance, Evans filed an official report with Alan H. Belmont, then the bureau's assistant director:

"In line with the director's approval, the attorney general was contacted this morning, July 7, 1961, relative to his observation as to the possibility of utilizing 'electronic devices' in organized crime investigations. It was pointed out to the attorney general that we had taken action with regard to the use of microphone surveillances in these cases and while they represented an expensive investigative step, we were nevertheless utilizing them in all instances whe was technically feasible and valuable information might be ex The strong objections to the util of telephone taps as contrasted to phone surveillances was stressed attorney general stated he recogni telephone taps should be restricted to national defense-type cases and he was pleased we had been using microphone surveillances where these objectives do not apply wherever possible in organized crime matters."

With the record clear he had been completely familiar with FBI operations, the embarrassed Kennedy took the offensive, and in a grandstand play demanded Hoover make public his "entire file" on microphone surveillance.

The former attorney general knew full well that Hoover could not do so without informing the Cosa Nostra, the Communist party and the Ku Klux Klan exactly what the government knew of their illegal activities.

Sniper attacks on Hoover were stepped up. Friends of the former attorney general leaked to the pro-Kennedy Washington *Post* a story that in 1962 RFK "issued an unpublished directive to FBI Director Hoover and other Justice Department officials prohibiting 'improper, illegal and unethical'" investigative practices.

But Kennedy's alleged directive—which the *Post* reporter apparently did not actually see—failed to spell out what investigative tools were "improper, illegal and unethical." Quite obviously, Hoover could not infer that RFK meant electronic eavesdropping devices, since Kennedy had been an enthusiastic supporter of microphone surveillance from the very beginning of his administration.

RFK had launched an all-out campaign against organized crime and had marshalled the forces of every important federal investigative agency in the offensive. On several occasions, Internal Revenue Service employes were used to plant microphones as weapons in Kennedy's "War on Crime"—the denial of top IRS officials notwithstanding. At least one private detective agency was reportedly used by the anti-crime division to conduct electronic surveillance.

The clear implication of the Washington *Post* account is that Kennedy outlawed electronic eavesdropping in 1962. But this cannot be squared with

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With this Christmas issue goes our sincere gratitude to each reader for his unfailing support and encouragement throughout 1966. For conservatives, it has certainly been a year to remember. Conservatism is **alive** and **on the move**. And in 1967, HUMAN EVENTS will remain in the front ranks, working with determination to make the conservative movement an even more effective political force.

Have a very Joyful Christmas!

The Staff of HUMAN EVENTS

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● President Johnson has not made up his mind, but he is seriously considering sending Defense Secretary **Robert S. McNamara** on a diplomatic mission to Moscow to sound out the Soviets on the possibility of further disarmament. Upon hearing this, one military official remarked: "To test Soviet sincerity, why doesn't Bob make the first order of business getting the Soviets to reduce the amount of arms they're sending to Hanoi? That might be a disarmament step even us 'hawks' could go for."

● The United States has quietly shipped **fissionable nuclear material** to Communist Rumania for "research purposes." A consignment of 100 grams of enriched uranium 235 was recently shipped from the Atomic Energy Commission's Oak Ridge Laboratories to the Bucharest Institute of Atomic Physics. The deal was signed last August to demonstrate U.S. interest in "building bridges" to Eastern Europe.

● Where does **George Romney** stand? The Michigan governor thunders against the federal government's encroachment upon the states and individuals, but then turns right around and calls for an increase in federal powers. He is, for example, in favor of a federal "open housing" law; he supports a federal measure forbidding states to pass right-to-work laws; and last week he told Joseph Alsop, an extreme liberal on domestic matters who seems to be delighted with Romney's politics, that he favored heavy doses of federal aid to education. In fact, said Alsop, Romney ended his dissertation on education "by saying that much greater federal aid was, of course, needed. . . ."

● When Gov.-elect **Ronald Reagan** was a candidate in the fall, he was asked by his political aides to resign from the advisory board of the conservative youth group, Young Americans for Freedom. Reagan, however, refused to turn his back on YAF, still remains an adviser.

● Sen. **Jacob K. Javits** (R.-N.Y.), who has been angling to be part of a Romney-Javits ticket for the GOP in 1968, has finally declared himself forthrightly as a candidate. Though he votes less than 50 per cent of the time with his fellow Republicans and has chalked up an 88 per cent liberal ADA rating, Javits said last week: "I think I'm entitled to a national position by what I've done."

● Nebraska Gov. **Frank B. Morrison**, who lost in his bid to wrest a Senate seat away from Republican Carl Curtis, hopes to pick up a federal judgeship from LBJ. Morrison admitted to reporters when he ran against Curtis that LBJ had promised him a cushy federal post if he should lose.

● A hot piece of political gossip around Capitol Hill is the possibility that Sen. **Thomas Kuchel**, the California Republican who didn't support Barry Goldwater, Richard Nixon, Sen. George Murphy, or Gov.-elect Ronald Reagan, will "pull a Wayne Morse." Carpenter said that Kuchel is considering leaving the GOP and calling himself an "Independent." Behind this idea is the realization that he faces possible defeat in a GOP primary fight for renomination two years hence. One liberal California Republican, a member of the state central committee, says Kuchel today would be a "dead duck" if he faced a good primary opponent.

● Former Sen. Barry M. Goldwater said last week that **Richard Nixon** is the best qualified man in the country to be the President of the United States. "Dick Nixon is my man," said Goldwater. "If the convention were held tomorrow, he'd be the nominee."

● A Soviet newsman who sampled American hospitality for four years has returned home and churned out an hysterical account of life in the United States. Excerpts from Albert Laurinchukas' book, **The Third Side of the Dollar**, which the Kremlin reportedly plans to distribute around the world: "Why do Americans suffer from sleeplessness? If a person goes to bed feeling uncertain about tomorrow, when he knows he could make a million, but at the same time fears unemployment, when he must build an atomic shelter, it is hard for him to have natural, refreshing sleep. Alfred Hitchcock used to produce comedies, but now he knows he can make more money with horror movies. Fascism, the product of capitalism and imperialism, has long ago found fertile soil in America."

● Accusing the United States of "criminal aggression" in Viet Nam, the **Soviet Union** announced an increase in its defense spending by 8 per cent over 1966.

● Senate investigators are reviving their inquiry into the controversial **F-111** (formerly TFX) because of reports that the fighter-bomber is costing far more than originally estimated and may be too heavy for Navy use. On the orders of Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.), an investigating team has already visited Fort Worth, Tex., and other places where the plane is being manufactured and test-flown. Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara overruled top engineers and experts who wanted to award the contract to Boeing instead of General Dynamics because they figured that Boeing could build a better plane for less money.

● The Senate is expected to ratify the new **space treaty** next year, but some senators are now beginning to have serious reservations about the fact that there are no inspection safeguards in connection with the treaty provision barring nuclear weapons in orbit.

● The State Board of Canvassers in New York disclosed last week that the **Conservative party** wrested the more favorable Row C on the voting machine from the Liberal party in the November 8 election. Unofficial returns had originally showed the Liberal party was leading, but the canvass revealed the conservatives beat the liberals by several thousand votes. The official figure is expected to speed the end of Hatters Union President Alex Rose's dynasty as the Liberal party's chief strategist.

● Sen. **Ernest F. Hollings** (D.-S.C.), a graduate of the Citadel and a World War II combat veteran, reported to LBJ after a visit to Viet Nam that the United States is losing the war. Hollings said that in his opinion the President faces "a crisis of indecision" over escalating the bombing of North Viet Nam. The new senator said the war could be over in 1967 if American pilots were allowed in the next two weeks to obliterate 75 military targets in North Viet Nam. And if these bombing strikes failed, Hollings said, the U.S.-South Vietnamese forces should occupy North Viet Nam, even at the risk of Soviet or Red Chinese intervention.

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Reagan's Star Rises

Largely undisclosed by the nation's press is the fact that Gov.-elect Ronald Reagan, the conservative Californian who might well be a 1968 presidential candidate, swept the GOP governors' conference off its feet last week. Observers at the Colorado Springs meeting say that from start to finish Reagan made a dazzling impression upon governors, reporters and even the average Colorado citizen.

When the conference had concluded, Reagan found himself on the all-important five-man executive committee and had gained new respect from politicos who admired the way he managed to get the governors to accept his conservative positions.

New Guard editor David Franke, who attended the gathering for Young Americans for Freedom, stressed to *Human Events* that Reagan's role during the executive sessions of the governors has been underplayed by the press. In fact, says Franke, Reagan tackled the liberal wing head on—and won—on the major resolution dealing with tax sharing.

"The liberals," says Franke, "were only interested in having the federal government return tax moneys to the states, whereas Reagan was interested in seeing to it that whatever taxes are shared never come under Washington's political influence.

"The important part of the resolution on the tax-sharing plan that was Reagan's read: 'Such a plan should be simple and should result in the states' share remaining in the respective states as opposed to such revenue going first to Washington and then being returned as just another federal grant.'"

Reagan, says Franke, managed to maneuver this "states' rights" clause into the resolution in those closed-door sessions, thus demonstrating his negotiating skills and the respect attended him by the GOP governors.

Reagan received warm attention from many quarters. Gov.-elect Tom McCall of Oregon, considered a liberal, noted that Reagan stirred "considerable excitement" among the new and old governors and reporters kept buzzing to themselves that Reagan must be a presidential candidate—even though he repeatedly denied the fact. "He just looks and acts the part," said one commentator.

(Pro-Romney columnist Roscoe Drummond appeared somewhat annoyed that Reagan was making such a hit, but not his brother, Jeff. Jeff, said one onlooker, kept needling his brother about how Reagan was so eloquent and obviously the best spokesman for the Republicans.)

The former actor gathered admiring crowds of Colorado citizens wherever he went; typical was the reaction of one hardline liberal Democratic lady who swore she'd vote for Reagan over Lyndon Johnson.

When Reagan first walked into the Hotel Broadmoor, the politicos there burst into spontaneous ap-

Michigan Gov. George Romney and California's Gov.-elect Ronald Reagan confer during the GOP governors' conference in Colorado Springs.

plause and began to swarm about him. Michigan Gov. George Romney, a short distance from Reagan, became visibly irritated at the attention given the Californian and attempted to draw some of it away by speaking more loudly.

Many reporters, however, were not taken in and came away convinced that Reagan far outclassed the Michigan governor. While Reagan was smooth and possessed the light touch, Romney plodded and sermonized. Reagan gave straight answers and appeared willing to talk on anything, while Romney continued to hedge or refuse to answer as in the case of Viet Nam.

Some politicos even feel Romney lost support among liberal governors. Lame duck Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania, who went to the conference for the express purpose of acquiring backing for the Michigan governor, came away empty-handed. All in all, Reagan appears to have stolen the show in Colorado.

• Politicos note that the GOP Governors Conference appeared to be about equally divided between liberals and conservatives—a vast improvement for

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

the conservatives, who have been hopelessly outnumbered in previous years.

The right-of-center governors, in fact, now outnumber the liberals on the important five-man executive committee which speaks for the gubernatorial group between conferences. John Love of Colorado and John Chafee of Rhode Island, both liberals, are chairman and vice-chairman of the committee, but three conservatives, Reagan, Tim Babcock of Montana and Claude Kirk Jr. of Florida were also appointed to the committee.

Those Polish Hams

The American State Department is apparently uninterested in having translated into English a book smuggled out from Poland which not only reveals the bleak life of the citizens in that hapless land but also demonstrates that Western trade with Poland directly increases Soviet military power.

Called *Unknown Poland* and written under the pseudonym George J. Flemming, the manuscript of this 161-page book was slipped out of Warsaw in the summer of 1966 and published in Paris by the Polish literary circle, "Kultura."

Formed in 1947 after Poland's conquest by Soviet Russia, Kultura has published books by Yuli Daniel and Andrei Sinyavsky, two Soviet writers recently convicted of the crime of sending to the West for publication fiction which included unflattering remarks on Soviet society.

A Kultura spokesman in Washington says the purpose of this group is to spread the truth about communism to nations both inside and outside the Iron Curtain.

Though the State Department has been approached, it apparently has no interest in trying to get this book published in English because it gives a far different picture of Poland from that usually portrayed by official government sources in the United States.

While the State Department, for instance, is sending out literature denouncing private American boycotts of Polish ham, the author of *Unknown Poland* reveals that the proceeds of sales to the West of "Polish hams, sausages, geese and butter" provide dollars with which the Poles acquire radar and navigational equipment to be installed aboard Polish-built ships for the Soviet Union. Soviet ships, as well as Polish ships, of course, are supplying Hanoi with a constant stream of war material through the Haiphong harbor.

The book also charges that the Polish people receive "starvation wages" from the government and that almost everyone has to connive to earn a living. In the view of the author, the Communist system in Poland has turned the country into a nation of thieves where the simple necessities of life can be gotten most easily through bribery and taking a "cut."

Every few months, he says, there is a rapid turnover of management personnel because the Communist system compels business managers to steal and falsify figures. In order to eke out a living, even doctors and engineers have to have jobs on the side.

In the old days, says the author, there were favored classes in Polish society; now, under the Communist system, the citizen advances up the ladder of "success" by nepotism and his ability to maintain good relations with "security people."

There is less terror than previously, but the secret police are still ruthlessly effective. For a brief while after the 1956 turmoil, the author says nostalgically, there was some freedom to think and to criticize. But "today this book may be only published abroad . . . and the authorities will not be interested in the contents, but only in 'who is Fleming.'"

The Strange Baker Case

Is the U.S. government throwing the case against Bobby Baker and his friends? That question continues to be raised in the Nation's Capital as more light has now been shed on the curious chain of events that has placed prosecution of Baker and Co. in serious jeopardy.

BAKER

Earlier this year, the chances that the former secretary to the Senate majority and at least one of his close associates would wind up in jail appeared likely. On January 5 a federal grand jury in the District of Columbia had returned a nine-count indictment against Baker charging him with fraud, larceny and tax evasion. At that time, many believed his conviction would never take place because of his intimate association with LBJ. Nevertheless, so dark were things for Baker that he began to threaten to write a book that would expose Washington politics.

For Fred B. Black Jr., a lobbyist and former close associate of Baker, things looked even worse. He had been indicted in 1963 for income tax evasion, convicted in May 1964 and sentenced to prison. He had also lost in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. By May of this year the government appeared to have won its case against Black, since the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review his conviction.

But then some remarkable events took place. Lo and behold, on May 24—three weeks *after* the Supreme Court had refused to review Black's sentence—Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall made the extraordinary confession that the FBI had eavesdropped on Black in his Sheraton-Carlton Hotel suite here in Washington.

As a result of this unprecedented government "confession," the Supreme Court on November 8 ordered a new tax-evasion trial for Black. Subsequently the Justice Department produced a transcript of these "overheard" conversations, including remarks by Baker in Black's suite. Thus the government jeopardized its own case against Baker.

Trying to get off the hook, the Justice Department suggested that all these admissions about eavesdropping were made in order to be absolutely fair to Baker and Black. This new-found solicitude for individual rights brought more than a few wry comments on Capitol Hill.

But this is only a small part of this curious state of affairs. The man who insisted that the Justice

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Department tell the Supreme Court about the FBI eavesdropping on Black's Washington hotel suite—even though he, himself, says the eavesdropping had no relationship to the evidence developed against Black—was Mitchell Rogovin, assistant attorney general in charge of the Tax Division.

A 36-year-old lawyer, he has been described by Pulitzer Prize-winner Clark Mollenhoff as having "the adaptability to please his superiors and move up the ladder in both the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations."

Under the Kennedy Administration, Rogovin was boosted from junior lawyer status to the internal revenue office of Commissioner Mortimer Caplin. When Sheldon Cohen, a member of the law firm of Arnold, Fortas and Porter, became commissioner, he made Rogovin general counsel for the entire tax division.

Rogovin, moreover, is a good friend of Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, LBJ's close confidant and Baker's former attorney, and Mrs. Abe Fortas, who practices law in Washington under the name of Miss Carolyn Agger. Rogovin told Mollenhoff that he knew Mrs. Fortas "very well" and that she had recommended him for his present $27,500-a-year post as assistant attorney general in the Tax Division.

A little over a year ago, while Rogovin was still chief counsel for the Internal Revenue Service, there was little indication he would be involved in the Black and Baker case. But on February 26 of this year—at a time when things looked bad for Black and Baker—President Johnson nominated the young Yale graduate to head the Tax Division. Shortly afterward, Rogovin "discovered" the bugging in the Black case.

Rogovin insists his actions are not "favoritism" but an intense interest by the Justice Department in seeing to it that no one takes advantage of Baker, Black or anyone else charged with federal crimes. He says that only recently the Justice Department came forward to disclose there had been eavesdropping on Joseph F. Schipani, a 54-year-old Brooklyn, N.Y., man who had been sentenced to a three-year prison term for tax evasion and fined $12,500.

He also says that the determination to do away with eavesdropping—except in cases of national security—is in conformity with policies laid down by President Johnson in June 1965. But many Washingtonians can't help viewing this new concern by the Justice Department on eavesdropping with a jaundiced eye, particularly since the concern developed with a Baker associate.

Furthermore, Rogovin, himself, according to a Senate Judiciary subcommittee was once a major defender of eavesdropping by the IRS.

Thus, the persistent, nagging suspicions that the government may be trying to "throw" its own case against Lyndon Johnson's protege.

House Fight on Rules

Conservatives throughout the country should be alert to a drive by the 140-member, semi-secret Democratic Study Group to revamp the House Rules Committee on the opening day of the 90th Congress.

DSG leaders have revealed they plan to strip the committee, which channels legislation to the House floor, of any semblance of independence and turn it into an arm of the liberal House leadership headed by Speaker John McCormack (D.-Mass.) and Majority Leader Carl Albert (D.-Okla.).

The Rules Committee has long exerted an independent spirit and has often rebuffed the efforts of liberal House members to saddle the taxpayers with spending boondoggles. In recent years, however, its independence has been whittled away through "packing" and the "21-day rule" which permits the speaker, under certain circumstances, to call up a bill the Rules Committee refuses to let come to the floor for a vote. Even so, however, the panel can still prove to be balky to LBJ and the liberal Democrats.

Recognizing this fact, Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. (D.-N.J.), chairman of the DSG, stated last week that DSG leaders believe "that as the Committee on Rules now exists it . . . is frequently used as a sounding board to set up the defeat of legislation which is reported by the legislative committees."

The study group's campaign to diminish the committee's effectiveness even further involves the following:

(1) increasing the committee from 15 to 17 members by adding the House majority and minority leaders as voting members;

(2) designating the majority leader, Carl Albert, as chairman;

(3) providing that the current senior member of the committee, William Colmer (Miss.), be demoted to vice chairman.

The elaborate strategy is not only designed to weaken the power of the Rules Committee in general, but it has been specifically concocted to kill the influence of Rep. Colmer, who replaces Judge Howard Smith (D.-Va.) as the committee's new chairman.

COLMER

Like Smith before him, Colmer is a granite-like conservative. If this plan goes into effect, Colmer's power in the committee will be almost zero.

Insiders say even if this plan should fail, DSG will push for the Democratic leadership to pack the committee with two liberal House Democrats to fill the two existing vacancies on the 15-member body. Hence, the concern among conservative-minded lawmakers.

Mrs. Kennedy's Peeve

What are the Kennedys hiding? That's the reaction among Washington politicos to Jacqueline Kennedy's suit to prevent Harper & Row and *Look* magazine from printing William Manchester's *Death of a President*, a book Mrs. Kennedy had actually commissioned Manchester to write "in the interest of accuracy."

Mrs. Kennedy claims that Manchester exploited her "emotional state" in early 1964—several months after her husband's death—and has no right to "expose to all the world at this time all the private grief, personal thoughts and painful reactions my children and I endured in those terrible days. . . ." And, she says, she intends to enforce her rights and "postpone publication until the minimum of my family's privacy can be protected."

But Capitol Hill observers wonder whether something more might not be involved. After all, it is said, she personally picked Manchester and she permitted him to tape her thoughts. Apparently Mrs. Kennedy said nothing to him about not using what was in the tape until more than two years after he had interviewed her.

While everyone understands Mrs. Kennedy's desire to shield her children, the belief persists that there must be more to this whole affair than shows on the surface. Speculation centers on possible strong criticism of President Johnson that Mrs. Kennedy voiced in the interview but now feels she would like to leave unsaid rather than jeopardize the political careers of the Kennedys.

But given the lengths to which she seems prepared to go to halt publication, something more appears involved. What this something might be is a chief concern of Capitol Hill.

Moyers Resignation

The sudden resignations of presidential assistants Bill D. Moyers and Jake Jacobsen have strengthened the speculation discussed by Ted Lewis on page 5 that LBJ may not seek re-election in 1968.

When Moyers and Jacobsen leave, the President will have lost all of the men who served on his staff in the early months of his presidency three years ago.

State Dept. Flouts Law

Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill) is heatedly contesting a proposal by the State Department to sell 35,000 tons of vegetable oil and 450,000 bushels of wheat to Communist Yugoslavia at a subsidized rate. Findley says the dollar subsidy to Yugoslavia will be in the neighborhood of $4 million.

According to the Illinois lawmaker, this proposal flies in the face of his appropriation bill rider banning Food for Peace shipments—soft currency sales—"to any nation which sells or furnishes" any "equipment, material or commodities" to North Viet Nam as long as the United States is engaged in conflict with the Communist rulers in Hanoi.

The State Department concedes that blood, bandages and medical supplies collected by the Yugoslavian Coordinating Committee for Viet Nam are going to Hanoi, but State's lawyers assert that this is not an official agency of the Yugoslavian government, nor does it think there is any official connection between the constituent organizations of the committee and the government. Therefore, it says, Findley's amendment applying to "any nation" cannot be invoked.

Rep. Findley says the department's interpretation is just not correct. First of all, Findley says his amendment was designed to prevent Food for Peace sales to nations that send goods to North Viet Nam or permit private groups to trade with that Communist country. The amendment, he insists, does not just apply to official government agencies.

Even more farfetched, says Findley, is the belief that there is no connection between the Yugoslav government and this "coordinating committee" to aid North Viet Nam. "In a Communist country," says Findley, "the acts of private entities, especially when they relate to matters that may affect the foreign relations of the government, are regulated or inspired by the government and the Communist party. The fact that the Socialist Alliance is involved as a constituent member of the committee is ample evidence of the great interest the Yugoslavian government has in this matter. . . . The connection between the Socialist Alliance, the labor unions and many of the other constituent organizations is fully explored in *Yugoslavia and the New Communism*, by George Hoffman and Fred Neal. The Coordinating Committee is in effect a private organization acting with the force of the government."

Nevertheless, the Sate Department appears intent upon flouting the will of Congress and proceeding with the Yugoslavian deal.

Walt Disney

Walt Disney, who died last week of lung cancer, will long be remembered for his delightful film fantasies that have entertained millions of children—and grown-ups—around the world. A symbol of the entrepreneuer, he began drawing his most famous creation, Mickey Mouse, in a garage. When he died he was the owner and guiding spirit of a multi-million-dollar entertainment empire.

Few people perhaps realized that there was also a political side to Disney and that he, along with Ronald Reagan, helped in the drive to expel the Communists from the motion picture industry in the 1940s.

Unlike so many Hollywood types, Disney had no qualms about testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In October 1947 he told the committee that the Communists wanted to control his workers. When Disney refused to sign a contract with a Communist-controlled union, he was told by the Red organizer: "I will smear you, and I will make a dust bowl out of your plant." Disney became the object of a vicious smear campaign for crossing the Reds.

He was lied about and accused of running a "sweat shop," though Disney had a reputation even then of being a generous employer. "Generally, throughout the world," he testified, "all of the Commie groups began smear campaigns against me and my pictures."

Disney, of course, survived the Communist harassment, and it is an ironic twist of history that Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev so desired to see Disneyland that he nearly caused an international incident when security officers refused him the request.

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LBJ in 1968? You Can Get an Argument

By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

It is now exactly 6 weeks since the November election, and President Johnson has yet to display a spark of interest in rebuilding his party's organization or refurbishing his own image for the 1968 presidential campaign.

His present appearance of disinterest is certainly enigmatic. It had been expected that once LBJ had studied the election returns, he would, because of his political savvy, move dynamically to meet the GOP challenge to a second term.

This failure of Johnson to act as expected is the basic reason for the increasing speculation that he may not seek another term. Leading Democrats have begun to wonder about his intentions. Well-known Republicans have raised the question openly.

In New York last Tuesday, Barry Goldwater thought LBJ might well decline to run again if his popularity ratings keep going down.

And in a television appearance after the recent GOP Governors' Conference at Colorado Springs, Idaho's lame duck governor, Robert Smylie, an anti-Goldwater Republican, had a similar, more detailed opinion:

"I think he [LBJ] is going to make a good case for the fact that he maybe will not run. There is the question of his health which anybody his age, after as many bouts as he has had—he is the best judge of that.

"But I suspect that if the mood of discontent or disaffection, whatever you want to call it, continues to afflict the country, and the polls continue to be a little unhappy, it is entirely possible that if there were a way of preventing Sen. Kennedy's nomination, he might go to Texas."

A Texan is supposed to go down fighting, but a strong case can be made for supposing that President Johnson will prefer the climate of Texas after 1968.

This is almost exactly what some veteran Democratic politicians have been worrying about privately. They think it is high time the President either began to fish or cut bait. They remind that the first presidential preference primary—that in New Hampshire—is only 15 months away—March 15, 1968.

In their opinion it is going to take that long to develop a strong national party organization, capable of carrying out an effective 1968 campaign, from the primaries through the election.

But what is the situation as of this mid-December? National party chairman John Bailey is vacationing abroad. Apathy is supreme. LBJ is not doing anything about straightening out party affairs or getting needed new blood in the national committee.

He leaves the impression that he still is determined to handle personally everything party-wise, even if last month's election defeats proved the one-man show technique was only fit for the ashcan.

Whatever the President is up to, by totally concealing what he has in mind—for himself and his party in the future—he has created a vacuum. It may turn out that this was his intention—let speculation run rife over whether he preferred one term or two.

But it takes a considerable stretch of imagination for a disinterested observer to believe that the President is even toying with the idea of stepping aside in 1968.

Johnson has both the vanity and pride which forbids a Texan to step aside from a fight, no matter what the odds are against him. A Texan is supposed to go down fighting (Remember the Alamo!).

Moreover, what Democrat is there on the horizon who could run better against a Republican in 1968 than Lyndon? The only one honestly mentionable is Bobby Kennedy. Could anyone—including Goldwater—visualize LBJ, no matter how low the rating of his own popularity, pushing Bobby instead of himself?

Only in sickness, but certainly not in health, could such a strange development be a future possibility.

Obviously, the more speculation that is generated over the President's 1968 intentions, the more "name Republicans" get afflicted with White House fever. It may be argued that Michigan Gov. George Romney, because of his highly religious personality (he has already been tagged "Holy George" in print), would run best against LBJ with his wheeling, dealing sly reputation.

But rather than Romney, it could be that Nixon, Reagan, Rockefeller, Percy, or Hatfield have the better specifications of the ideal Republican nominee against Bobby Kennedy or Hubert Humphrey. So the mere mention of these two Democrats as presidential possibilities simply confuses all Republican king-making activities until it can be determined what Johnson is definitely going to do. And that may well be the dramatic stage-play that Johnson now has in mind, perhaps even waiting for the March 1968 New Hampshire primary before revealing firmly his second-term intentions.

It is worth remembering that President Truman waited until the fall of 1951—a year before the November 1952 election—before disclosing confidentially to a few trusted aides that he would not seek re-election.

And it was not until March 1952 that Truman formally announced in a speech at a dinner party that he would not be a candidate for re-election.

Whatever game, if any, Johnson is now playing, could end up in the same dramatic way. But in Truman's case it was apparent in the fall of 1950 that if he ran in 1952 he would get beaten. It is not so apparent in Johnson's case.

Some Very Bad 'Punch'-Lines

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Recently, in answer to a request from the London magazine *Punch*, I wrote an article attempting to correct some of the false impressions of Americans held by some people in Europe and Great Britain.

How effective it was I do not know. I do, however, have compelling evidence of how badly informed some are overseas about America and also of why they are so badly informed.

The evidence is in the correspondence through which *Punch* solicited my article. It is an object lesson of just how wrong it is to assume that Americans or America are understood abroad, even now.

One of the questions asked of me by *Punch* was this:

"Will Americans ever reconcile themselves to the democratic right of all political opinions to express themselves openly?"

The fact that one of the most cosmopolitan magazines in Europe could ask such a question is appalling. The implication, obviously, is that the deep lack of understanding of America which prompted the question also may prompt or support a sort of closed-mind or mindless coverage of American affairs which will subtly deepen the darkness or misunderstanding and never shed any real light for our friends abroad.

The Communist party may and does run political candidates in this country. We do not suppress them. In fact, our laws specifically and properly protect the right of anyone to openly express political opinions, no matter how offensive to some of us those opinions may be.

America is not only reconciled to the open expression of political opinions, it is *dedicated* to such open expression. *Punch* might recall that the demand for the right to have, express and do something about unpopular political opinions is the reason we are not a British colony today.

Punch obviously believes that conservatives in America represent a sort of thinking that wants to suppress unpopular thought. *Punch* is not aware that I, for instance, along with many other conservatives who regard constitutional protections as being meant for everyone, have supported the right of Communists to speak on public campuses. This is a shocking admission of misunderstanding of America and Americans.

Much of my article in *Punch* was devoted to another evidence of their view of America. Another of their questions was:

"Is America's blind anti-communism a threat to world peace?"

I tried to explain to the readers that America's anti-communism is far from blind, that it is based upon the closest and most scrupulous attention to reality, evidence and action.

Unlike those who base their pro-communism on the illusions of Communist theory, promises and propaganda, American anti-communism is based upon the concrete evidences of aggression, suppression and regression into political feudalism within the Soviet empire.

Who, in fact, is blind? I earnestly believe that what magazines like *Punch* need is not an occasional article about America, but their editors need to take a closer look for themselves.

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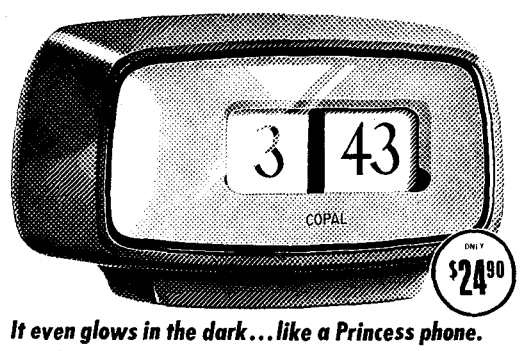

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GOP chairman Ray Bliss (left) and Democratic party chairman John Bailey stand to gain in determining political finances if the proposed $1 tax deduction is enacted.

$1 Contribution Law

National Party Chairmen Take on New Importance

By HERBERT G. KLEIN in the San Diego *Union*

The richest man in politics today is the national chairman.

Congress had little time to think through all the ramifications of the rider tacked on the foreign investment bill in the dying moments of the 89th session, providing for income tax contributions to presidential campaigns.

One of the factors politicians just are beginning to evaluate is the tremendous power suddenly transferred to the national chairman of each political party.

In the past, national committees have looked after more housekeeping and research problems than actual campaign direction.

But the new law may give each committee up to $30 million, controlled by the chairman and his executive committee.

The contribution rider, which was one of several unrelated measures attached to the essential foreign investment bill, allows contributions of $1 per person from income tax to support a presidential campaign.

It does not limit additional private contributions.

By some curious formula, possibly based on expenditures in the last two presidential elections, the amount allotted is not to exceed the number of votes cast in the last election for President, minus 10 million. About 70 million voters participated in 1964. This would allow a maximum of $60 million dollars to be divided equally between Democrats and Republicans.

A third party candidate would gain nothing unless his party polled five million or more votes in the previous election. This never has been done.

Criticisms of the bill include the lack of debate on it, the fact it deprives the voter of declaring which party should receive his $1, the lack of reforms and the fact it has no influence on primaries. The law may even be unconstitutional.

If the law is upheld, it still will have no effect on the legal limit of $3 million national committees may accept and expend from private contributors to a presidential race.

The $3 million has been a minor part of campaign spending which has been controlled by the nominee and his chairman through the device of varied committees, each of which can spend up to $3 million. Private donations are limited to $5,000 in a general election, but again these can be split by families and repeated in varied committees.

But with up to $30 million controlled by the national committee, the chairman now has power over both the candidate and his managers. It will mean that the nominee must be certain he controls the chairman, perhaps placing even his own manager in the position.

In the immediate interim, the two national committees will build up their off-election year staffs with no fear of future money problems. They also plan increased fund efforts in 1967, perhaps raising expenditures next year up to $5 million.

The Republican committee will be less affected than the Democratic. GOP chairman Ray Bliss is in a strong position as a result of 1966 victories. He will enlarge his program of workshops and field men in urban areas.

John Bailey, Democratic National Committee chairman, will be under more pressure. Also the Connecticut chairman, he still is a Kennedy appointee. He is highly capable, but in 1964 President Johnson had his own man, Cliff Carter, overseeing the committee operation.

The President has curtailed national committee activities, but he now must recognize the new power given the organization. This may mean he will place one of his own men in the chairmanship.

The job of chairman will become more competitive. In the past, the chairman frequently took it out of duty.

The committee cannot allot funds prior to the nomination, but as the campaign gets hot, the chairman will be under pressure to favor the most likely nominee in everything from convention arrangements to publicity. The chairman's attitude toward the eventual nominee may determine whether he retains his job.

The ramifications are many. But what they spell out is that there are newly rich uncles in American politics.

As in a family, their role will be powerful. And it will be unique.

Even One in State Dept.

LBJ Has Three Brain Trusts Working on Anti-Strike Formula

By VICTOR RIESEL

The passionate national pastime here in Washington these days is the furious preparation of advice to President Johnson on how to avoid strikes.

Everybody's doing it. Mostly in secret. On orders, it's the rage in the Labor Department, naturally; in the Commerce Department, of course; and in the State Department, surprisingly.

For weeks everybody has been trying to crack the mystery of the identity of those in the brain trust cell entrusted with developing the formula which would prevent another multi-billion-dollar transit strike, an airline stoppage, railroad paralysis and an auto shutdown.

What made all the sleuths distraught, it can now be reported here, is the fact there are two such major brain trusts and one anonymous band of technicians all reporting back to the harassed young White House account executive in charge of trouble—Joe Califano.

One formula seeker is Under Secretary of State Nick Katzenbach, who until recently was attorney general.

Katzenbach's secret assignment is a sign of the pressure from President Johnson—for the former is second only to Dean Rusk in the State Department and has been spending considerable time briefing himself on the diplomatic game. Now he has had to take time out, surround himself with a trio of university professors, including Harvard's John Dunlop, and attempt to do the impossible—namely, come up with a formula for averting emergency national strikes without inflaming labor's legions into a vast industrial war.

There is a second team made up of the urbane Labor Secretary Wirtz, the anonymous Commerce Secretary John Connor—and the technicians—but not Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara.

Assisting the Stevensonian Willard Wirtz is the fatigued, usually genial, but now growling assistant secretary of labor for labor-management relations, James Reynolds. The other week he traveled away up to Arden House (N.Y.) where the American Arbitration Association was running a "think session" for professorial types.

After listening, Reynolds flash-fired by telling the concentrated assemblage of brains that they had talked and talked and had not come up with one single idea for settling a picket line dispute, much less a national strike affecting the health and welfare of the United States.

There really is a third force in all this—one which moves the entire matter onto the world scene—in the person of Ambassador to the United Nations Arthur Goldberg. He has talked to the President about it all and later in January will take a personal hand in briefing the nation's mediators on how to really settle mass strikes before they start.

When all this intellectual pushing and shoving is described as secret, it must be reported that it is secret (until now) only to the public. Labor's leaders know most of what's going on because everybody hastens to call them on their private numbers. And they don't like it one bit.

Furthermore, the nation's policy-making industrialists know about it. They, too, have private numbers. And they don't like it one bit either—except in the fields of railroads, trucking and airlines.

The labor leaders know what's going on because they have former officials now very high in government.

The businessmen know about it because Secretary of Commerce Connor has asked them to come up with ideas for the President's consideration. This word was passed on by Mr. Connor to the industrial relations committees of the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) and the National Chamber of Commerce.

These groups will tell Mr. Connor they want the government to stay out of free collective bargaining. In fact, W. P. (Gully) Gullander, permanent NAM president, already has communicated with Jack Connor.

The NAM would like the government to keep its hands off because any move towards fact finding, national boards, etc., etc., will result in compulsory arbitration—and industry just does not want

Even Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach is working on the anti-strike project.

government boards settling matters. So said Gully.

On this issue the NAM and the C. of C. will line up with the AFL-CIO.

But the studies go on—should the President have the power to seize vital struck plants and transportation systems; should he have the power to end a strike by simple court injunction; should he set up a National Emergency Disputes Board or should he just do nothing but sit and reason with the parties?

That's the arsenal of weapons you hear so much about.

But all the conferencing is unnecessary.

There already is a report on averting strikes which could injure the national interest.

It was neatly and unanimously put together and finally issued on May 1, 1962, by a most prestigious Presidential Advisory Committee headed by Dave Cole, easily one of the land's most rational and experienced labor-management mediating practitioners and theorists.

It's no secret document—just a forgotten one called "Free and Responsible Collective Bargaining and Industrial Peace." Underwriting it were, among others, Joseph Block, head of Inland Steel, Dave Dubinsky, labor's own Mosaic philosopher, Willard Wirtz, Richard Reynolds, Walter Reuther and Clark Kerr.

So why all the fury? A summit conference on social responsibility—open to the public—would let out the mystery and let in some fresh air, especially from the public.

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Senate Subcommittee Charges Viet Nam Course 'Most Costly'

From the Allen-Scott Report

A stinging indictment of the Johnson Administration's conduct of the war in Viet Nam is being prepared by the Senate Armed Services Preparedness subcommittee.

While warmly acclaiming the fortitude, bravery and combat victories of U.S. troops, the Senate investigators will charge, "Our present course of action in Viet Nam is the most costly in terms of lives and money that we could follow."

Slated to be submitted in January when Congress debates President Johnson's $10-billion supplemental war budget, the subcommittee's report will warn:

"In spite of our constant military victories, in spite of our increased forces, in spite of the improvement in our logistical situation, we are confronted with essentially the same problem that existed 12 months ago, and are not significantly closer to bringing the war to a conclusion."

Headed by Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.), the subcommittee will unanimously contend that "Developments in Viet Nam during the past year should serve to convince all Senate members that victory does not lie down the road which we are now following."

Instead of accepting "a bloody war of attrition which may last 10 to 20 years and cost more than a hundred billion dollars," the seven committeemen will call on the President "to take the military action necessary to win the war in the shortest period of time."

As a blueprint for speedy victory, the subcommittee will propose the following:

• Give Gen. William Westmoreland all the ground forces he believes necessary to bring the fighting to an end.

• Close the port of Haiphong, "through which a very significant portion of North Viet Nam war-making potential comes."

• Expand and intensify the bombing of North Viet Nam "to include all militarily significant targets."

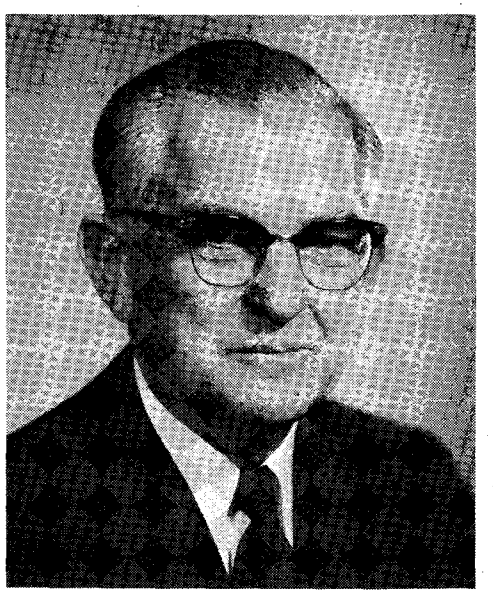
Such a forceful escalation program, the subcommittee believes, "will convince the Hanoi government that the United States plans to see the war through and will neither be driven out nor worn down."

"Convincing the Communists that we are determined to use whatever force is necessary to drive them out of South Viet Nam," the report will assert, "is one of the first and most fundamental steps on the road to victory."

The huge build-up by both sides in the past year will be stressed in the subcommittee's findings, as follows:

"The allied forces in South Viet Nam—American, South Vietnamese, Korean and other friendly forces—now number one million, including more than 370,000 U.S. troops. They are opposed by a combined Viet Cong and North Vietnamese force of 300,000.

"Despite the fact that we have exacted more than 85,000 casualties from the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese in killed, wounded, captured and defectors in the past year, the enemy force has increased rather than decreased."



The Senate Armed Services Preparedness subcommittee, headed by Mississippi Democrat John C. Stennis (left), notes that Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's handling of the Viet Nam war has not brought about the desired results.

The Defense Department recently announced that "infiltration from North Viet Nam is running about 7,000 a month," but the Senate investigators will report that "during the month of October the number of North Viet Nam soldiers entering South Viet Nam exceeded 13,000."

Also, in the blunt opinion of the subcommittee, there is no reliable information indicating that North Viet Nam's "will to fight" is weakening.

On the contrary, the probers found "there is every indication the Communists have no intention of either abandoning the fight or seeking peace through negotiations.

"There is definite evidence that Hanoi is preparing for an even longer war, and to this end is increasing its forces and taking steps to improve its command and control structure in the field."

The subcommittee will also zero in on Defense Secretary McNamara's handling of budget requests for the conflict, stating:

"The sending of additional troops on a piecemeal incremental basis and funding the war on an after-the-fact basis is not the solution. It will certainly be less costly, both in terms of human life and ultimate cost, if we take the necessary steps and send in enough troops now in order to bring the enemy to terms rather than to let the war drag along for years.

"The war has already cost more than 6,000 American lives and $30 billion. Under existing circumstances the present bloody war of attrition will entail increased casualties and cost more than $25 billion a year."

In singling out U.S. fighting men for praise, the report will declare:

"The young Americans fighting in Viet Nam are magnificent by any standard. On the field of battle they have been victorious in every major engagement during the past year. Their morale is tremendously—even amazingly—high.

"They take great pride in doing their job and consistently show resourcefulness, courage and dedication to what they believe is a just cause. Most of the fighting men interviewed expressed the opinion that the time for half measures has passed."

Members of the subcommittee in addition to Sen. Stennis, the chairman, are Senators Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.), Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), Howard Cannon (D.-Nev.), Robert Byrd (D.-W. Va.), Margaret Chase Smith (R.-Me.), and Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.).

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Roughing It in L.A.

A Hardy Columnist Survives a Campaign

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I don't usually reprint my fan letters, but this one kinda gets me and I have decided to share it with you:

"Though I live in your bailiwick, I know you only by sight—and, as a God-fearing Democrat, I intend to keep it that way. Your dour countenance is almost as frightening as the dire predictions you make when any liberal legislation is passed. Heaven knows you have fully earned your soubriquet of 'the Gloomy Dean of Beverly Hills.'

"But yesterday I passed you and was almost bowled over. You were actually humming a gay tune and grinning like the Cheshire Cat. Now I know one may smile and be a villain still, but tell me, pray, why the metamorphosis?

"Frankly, I prefer you as a sourpuss, but I am curious. Did some rich relative pass on to wherever it is reactionaries go, leaving you his ill-gotten wealth? Did the GOP triumph send you on an LSD trip? I know it can't be the approach of the Yuletide season."

Well, if you must know, dear Unknown Admirer, it's because my wife is back and my home resembles a home once more.

You see, from mid-August or so, I suddenly found I was married to a Career Woman whose one purpose in life was supervising some 100 local precincts in behalf of the candidacy of a certain movie actor. She would leave early and come home late, and I caught only occasional glimpses of her.

It was, I hoped, just a passing infatuation, and I decided to treat it as a man of the world. I uttered no reproaches, but threw myself into my own work. That is, I endeavored to—but the phone rang incessantly with strange men demanding her whereabouts. Luckily, she had left two phone numbers at which she could be reached. Many's the night, as you must realize, I wept myself to sleep, wondering about meetings to which I was never invited.

The worst thing about the stituation was that it turned me, willy-nilly, into a sort of housekeeper, a job for which I was inadequately prepared. If a light went out, I had no idea where the extra bulbs were kept, so that gradually the house was plunged into almost total darkness, and I could work at my typewriter only by candlelight.

There was the time a pipe burst and I tried to clean up the mess as best I could, and left a note for the Little Woman asking her what to do about it. Her memo—slipped under my door—was terse: "Wait 'till after the election."

Then came the rains, and the roof began to leak. I spread paper all over the floors, and left another pleading note. The answer was sharp this time: "If I've told you once, I've told you a hundred times not to bother me 'till after the election."

I had visions of the house drifting away, and I prayed that it would float past the Reagan headquarters so I could wave a last goodbye at her. Even if she only called back, "Wait 'till after the election."

Naturally, she could do no shopping during this period, and I got my meals by a systematic attack on the pantry and refrigerator—both well stocked. But in the long siege, I ate my way through all the mint jelly, chutney, canned soups, tuna, dietetic ice cream, TV chili con carne, and toward the end began to budget myself on a few raw onions, the last of the sardines and a dill pickle.

On the very last day of my ordeal, I could find nothing – absolutely nothing—but ice cubes in the refrigerator. Ingenuity is the mother of invention, so I defrosted the ice cubes, heated them and then went to the lemon tree in our back yard, pulled off the one remaining lemon and squeezed the juice into the ice cubes. It would have been better with sugar, but that had long vanished.

And that, sir, is what I went through. But now the election is over—and the Little Woman is back. The plumber has installed new pipes, the plasterer and the painters have been here, and the roof is being mended.

And the refrigerator and pantry are stocked once again. And I've just had a spanking breakfast, prepared by my wife. And the '68 election is almost two whole years away.

Wouldn't you grin, too?

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Will Adam Clayton Powell Lose His Seat in Congress?

The scandalous record of the congressman-minister from Harlem may be catching up with him

"Audacious power belongs to that race which believes in itself, in its heroes, in its successes, in its deeds and yes, even in its misdeeds."

The words are those of Adam Clayton Powell, an established authority on "audacious power." The dapper congressman-minister from New York's Harlem was charting not only a course of action for the Negro people but his own political credo as well, reporter Frank Lynn observed.

"I am a political cat," Powell frequently maintains. That may be so, but the sleek, debonair lawmaker may well be down to the last of his nine political lives. Re-elected little more than a month ago with 74 per cent of the vote, Powell is threatened on three fronts:

- Warrants for his arrest have been issued by New York authorities fed up with his flagrant refusal to settle a libel judgment he owes a Harlem widow whom he smeared more than six years ago.
- Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin (D.-Calif.) has announced that he will lead a House fight to deny Powell his seat if his troubles with the New York courts are not settled by next month.
- The Committee on House Administration is investigating Powell's use of congressional funds for personal junkets, and charges that he is pocketing the $20,578 annual paycheck of a staff member, his estranged wife.

'Official Travel' Expenses

A subcommittee headed by Rep. Wayne Hays (D.-Ohio) will open three days of closed door hearings December 19. Members of Powell's staff have been subpoenaed and he will be "invited" to testify. (As a member of Congress, Powell is immune from subpoena.)

The Harlem lawmaker is unlikely to appear but subcommittee members—who have spent long hours auditing his books—have uncovered voluminous evidence that Powell used congressional funds for private purposes.

From Jan. 1, 1965, to Aug. 31, 1966, Powell and his aides racked up "official travel" expenses of $19,179. Airline vouchers now in Hays' possession indicate that 156 round-trip tickets to New York were paid for by the taxpayers, plus 65 to Miami and San Juan. And there is evidence that individuals not connected with the Education and Labor Committee may have used the tax-paid tickets.

For instance, airline vouchers indicate that one Powell staffer flew from Washington to the West Coast and from Washington to Miami on the same day. Both tickets were used. "That seems to me a little difficult," Hays says with understatement.

La Dolce Vita

Powell, who freely admits he is "lazy as hell," has frequently used congressional funds to junket throughout the world—often on a glamorous scale.

On Aug. 8, 1962, he held a news conference in which he angrily denied that he would sail for Europe that afternoon on the *Queen Mary*. He had cancelled his reservation, he said, because of the vital bills that were scheduled for congressional consideration. Less than two hours later, however, the *Queen Mary* left New York—with Powell on board.

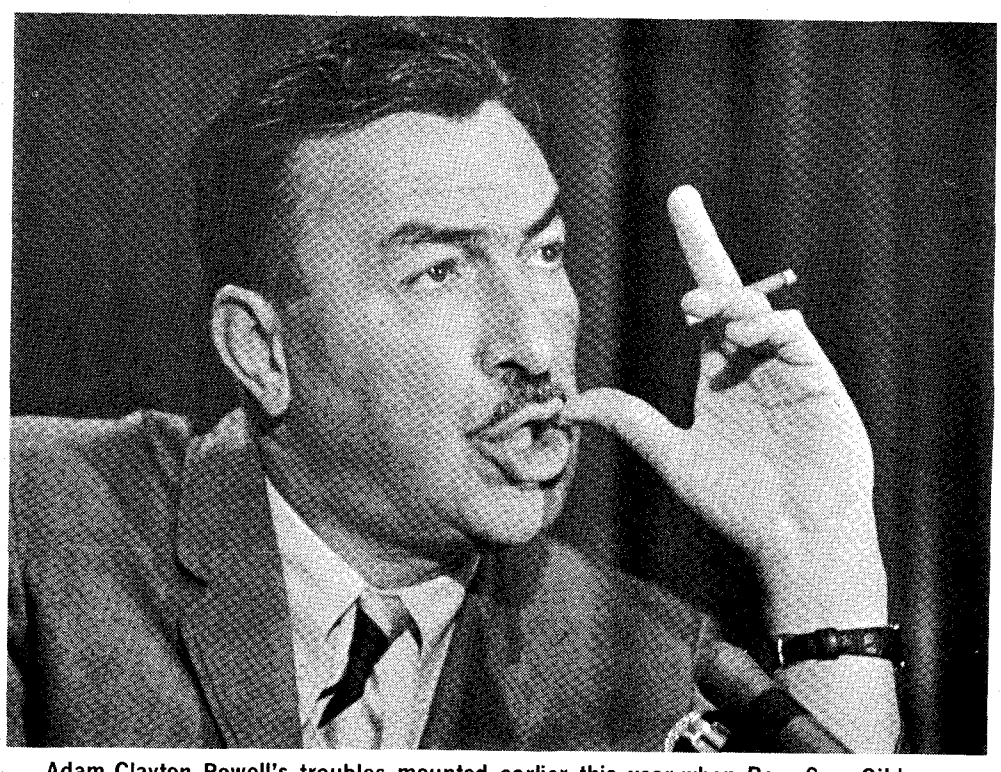
Asked for an explanation, a Powell spokesman said that he misled the press out of fear that "extremists" might attempt assassination.

Powell did not travel alone. He was accompanied by two female aides, both young, both curvaceous—Corrine Huff, a 21-year-old one-time telephone operator and the first Negro ever to appear in the Miss Universe contest, and Tamara J. Wall, a beautiful brunette divorcee carried on the Education and Labor Committee payroll as a $10,000-a-year associate counsel. Announced purpose of the Powell trip: to probe "equal employment opportunities for women" in the Common Market countries.

The junket had been carefully planned, with Powell receiving what he later termed "splendid cooperation" from the State Department.

"Splendid cooperation" is no exaggeration. The department had sent the following cables to its embassies in London, Paris, Rome, Athens and Venice:

"Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Chairman Committee Education and Labor, accompanied by Mrs. Tamara J. Wall and Miss Corrine Huff staff members traveling Western Europe accordance following itinerary: August 8 sailing *Queen Mary* arriving Southhampton 8/13; Paris 8/16; Venice 8/20; Rome 8/23; Athens 8/27; Delphi 8/30; sailing *Leonardo da Vinci* 9/15 from Gibraltar. Arrival times and flights when firm. Provisions handbook congressional travel apply. Codel [cable abbreviation for congressional delegation] authorized use local currency [counterpart] funds. Meet assist appoint control officers. London request three tickets 8/14, 15 best shows playing, except Broadway plays [Powell had already seen all the Broadway shows]. Paris—Codel desires use U.S. Army car and chauffeur. Reserve three for first show and dinner best table Lido 8/16. Venice—if the film festival going on request three tickets 8/20 or 21. Codel also requests use consulate's motorboat [for the Grand Canal]. Delphi—Codel inquires whether boat trip about six days around island possibility. Possible visit Rhodes." [The counterpart funds used are foreign currencies received by the U.S. government for sale of commodities under the various foreign aid programs.]



Adam Clayton Powell's troubles mounted earlier this year when Rep. Sam Gibbons (D.-Fla.) successfully managed to curtail Powell's powers as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. Powell accused Gibbons of "a new low in political irresponsibility and a new high in racial hysteria."

In London, the Powell party checked into the posh Cumberland Hotel, attended the theater each night in an embassy limousine and closed the local night spots. After nine days in London, the "roving ambassadors" moved on to Paris where they roughed it at the Hotel Crillon and cheered the nudes from the Lido ringside.

In Venice, the group attended the film festival and toured the Grand Canal in a gondola. An embassy official met them at the Rome airport, and escorted them to the Hotel Excelsior on the Via Veneto.

Uproar at Home

Three days later they were en route to Greece, where they visited the ruins at Adelphi, and sailed through the Aegean Islands for six days. Then Powell and Miss Huff flew to Madrid, after arranging to join up with Mrs. Wall in Gibraltar in time for the September 15 trip home on the *Leonardo da Vinci.*

As Powell traipsed across Europe, voices at home were raised in protest. The usually staid New York *Times* was sharply critical. In an editorial entitled "Powell's Shameless Junket," the paper declared: "The reckless, irresponsible conduct of Mr. Powell is a disgrace to the people of his district, to the United States Congress and to the Kennedy Administration, which to its discredit sent Secretaries Ribicoff and Goldberg to New York last year to attend a Powell glorification dinner. . . .

"As for the House of Representatives and the Kennedy Administration, have they no discipline for a member, and especially a committee chairman, who runs away to Europe for six weeks on idle whimsy like this 'inquiry' just at a time when Congress is (belatedly) trying to get down to serious business?"

All Mrs. Esther James (above) originally wanted from Powell was an apology and a retraction for his having called her a "bag woman" (graft collector). But Powell refused and he now owes her $164,000.

About this time, Powell flew back to Puerto Rico. When columnists speculated that the criticism of his trip had forced him to cut it short, Powell loudly declared that he would continue to travel first class—"and when I damn please."

"They tried to stop me," he crowed to a New Jersey rally in 1963. "But I'm going again . . . the luxury flight to Paris . . . with lots of relatives . . . at the government's expense . . . first class."

True to his word, Powell flew off to Europe again, and the taxpayer picked up the tab. Just before the 89th Congress convened in January 1965, he and Miss Huff jetted to Hawaii for a little investigating (when a local newsman asked the purpose of the trip, Powell threatened the reporter's life).

What Negro Leaders Think of Rep. Powell

"You have greviously set back the cause of the Negro, let your race down and failed miserably in the role which our people justly expect you to play as an important national leader of the Negro."
—Jackie Robinson, the man who broke baseball's color bar.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

"He has nothing but contempt for the Negro masses. In relaxed moments, Powell refers to Negroes as 'my slaves.'"
—J. Raymond Jones, chairman of the New York County Democratic Committee.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

"Whenever a case of discrimination arises, Powell raises his voice in a dramatic howl. He rants and raves, stirs up people's emotion to fever pitch and then he quietly folds up and goes away. . . . He is never willing to work. . . . Powell spends so much time in Europe you would think he was a Roman senator instead of a Harlem congressman."
—Earl Brown, editor, New York **Amsterdam News**

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In June 1966, Powell visited Geneva as a self-appointed delegate to the International Labor Organization. He was again accompanied by "Huffie," whose salary he had generously tripled to $15,543 a year.

The two spent little time at the rather tedious ILO sessions and were seen more frequently at Geneva nightclubs. Powell was telling friends that Miss Huff would become his fourth wife.

This came as news to wife No. 3. Reached at their $75,000 Puerto Rican villa, she said that she had not heard from Adam in many months but had no inkling that he was preparing a divorce. Mrs. Powell, the former Yvette Diago, is still carried on Powell's congressional payroll as a $20,578-a-year secretary. She spends virtually all her time in Puerto Rico despite a House regulation that limits employment of clerical help to those individuals who work either in a member's Washington office or his home district.

Missing Paychecks

Clerk of the House Ralph Roberts, whose job it is to supervise the congressional payroll, has refused even to investigate Mrs. Powell's status. "It would be highly improper for me to make a determination as to the nature of the employment of this person [Mrs. Powell] and to withhold payment of salary on the basis of poorly written and highly inaccurate newspaper clippings," he says.

But Mrs. Powell's salary has been withheld—not by Roberts, but by her husband. Yvette's monthly check of $1,715 is intercepted by Powell and deposited in *his* bank account. "I pay all her bills with my personal checks drawn on the account," he explains, adding, "I haven't had any complaints from her about it."

Mrs. Powell has complained to others, however. Early in August, she came to Washington to seek legal advice. Accompanied by her infant son, Adam Clayton Powell-Diago, she desperately sought an audience with her husband. Powell gave her the runaround and reportedly wrote a letter to the manager of the Sheraton Park Hotel warning that he would no longer be responsible for her hotel bills.

Before leaving Washington, Mrs. Powell confided to friends that she had not received any of her pay for more than a year. The missing paychecks are of interest to the Hays subcommittee, since they could involve a possible violation of the federal kickback laws.

If Powell runs true to form, he will boycott the subcommittee hearings. "He just don't like to be bothered," an aide explained when asked why Powell habitually ignores requests for testimony. Consider the celebrated case of Esther James.

On March 6, 1960, Powell went on New York television to assail "organized crime and police corruption," voicing his outrage that Italians, rather than Negroes, controlled the Harlem rackets. In the course of his tirade, Powell called Mrs. James, a 66-year-old widow, a "bag woman" (graft collector) for crooked cops. Mrs. James, who was actually a police informant, sued the station, the sponsor and the congressman for defamation of character.

The station and sponsor together settled the suit out of court for a total of $1,500. All Mrs. James wanted from Powell was an apology and retraction, but the defiant lawmaker refused.

He ignored the suit, boycotting his own trial despite promises by his lawyer to the court that he would appear. The jury returned a judgment against him of $211,500 (subsequently reduced to $46,500 by higher courts which upheld the verdict of defamation). The judgment became irrevocable when the U.S. Supreme Court rejected Powell's appeal.

The lawmaker immediately launched what one judge termed a "despicable campaign" to avoid payment. Characterizing himself as a "humble parish priest," Powell maintains that he doesn't have the money to pay Mrs. James. But he has steadfastly refused to submit to a financial examination by the courts and investigation by Mrs. James' attorney, Raymond Rubin, has convinced him that Powell has hundreds of thousands of dollars stashed away.

Thwarted in her efforts to get her money, Mrs. James instituted new suits charging that Powell transferred property to avoid having it attached to pay off the judgment. When he ignored these suits, the judgment climbed, by default, to $164,000.

"I'd estimate that I have been in court rooms more than 150 times in connection with this matter and can recall only two occasions when Adam Clayton Powell has shown up," says the indefatigable Rubin.

To get the elusive lawmaker to court, Rubin has resorted to nailing subpoenas on his door; has had a man pass himself off as a television crewman to serve him at a studio; has had Powell cited for criminal contempt.

Still, the court's monotonous calls for "Adam Clayton Powell Jr." have gone unanswered time and again when the dates have come up for his appearance. But for all his court room truancy, Powell has been punished only once, in 1964, when he was ordered to pay Mrs. James the whopping sum of $150 for court costs related to a failure to appear. To date Mrs. James has received only $19,000 raised by the congressman's friends to bail him out.

End May Be Near

More than 75 different judges sitting in 10 federal, state and local courts have heard aspects of the case, many of them several times. Three juries totaling 47 individuals (one a 23-man grand jury) have sat on the case. Two special referees have given recommendations to the New York State Supreme Court. Records of the six-year case stand more than 20 feet high.

But the end may be near for Powell. On December 1, the New York Court of Appeals unanimously upheld a 15-month jail term meted out to the defiant lawmaker and he faces arrest the moment he sets foot in New York State.

Even more ominous is the move by Powell's own colleagues to finally discipline him.

Rep. Sam Gibbons (D.-Fla.), who last summer led the successful move to strip Powell of some of his powers as chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, is working behind the scenes on a challenge to Powell's congressional seat. Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin (D.-Calif.) is preparing a motion to introduce on the first day of Congress requiring Powell "to stand aside and not take his seat while a committee appointed by Congress examines his wrongs and excesses."

Powell cried "racism," but Van Deerlin is a liberal Democrat with a record of undeviating support for civil rights. (Powell missed this year's vote on the civil rights bill because he was fishing on Bimini.) Van Deerlin has won bipartisan support for his motion and even Powell's fellow New Yorker, Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler, will support it.

Van Deerlin's position is simple:

"It would be a monstrous perversion of patriotism and morality if a man who would be barred from serving his country in uniform because of unlawful acts should be allowed a voice in policies which affect the lives of men who do serve. . . . I hate to sound moralistic and holier than thou, but here's a guy defying the courts and helping to write the laws of the nation."

Powell is plainly scared. His office has announced that he will pay off Mrs. James at the rate of $60 a week, as suggested by one New York judge. (Mrs. James has rejected the proposed settlement, noting that "the interest alone comes to about $190 a week.")

Civil rights militants are mapping a nationwide campaign to "save Adam Powell" by asserting that he is a victim of racism. Powell maintains that the campaign against him is Mafia-financed, solely to keep him from New York. "But I will not be deterred by this irrelevant suit in my fight against corruption, narcotics, vice and numbers." Occasionally, Powell will hide behind his congressional immunity while denouncing the "underworld-controlled judges" who, he says, are conducting a vendetta against him.

After one such tirade last year, a newsman told Powell to his face that he was a "faker." The congressman replied with a debonair shrug. "Aren't we all?" he asked.

Left-Wing Record

In May of this year, Powell denounced the use of draft deferment tests by the Selective Service System as "reminiscent of Hitler," a racist scheme to send a disproportionate number of Negroes to the "Viet Nam slaughter-house." Tass, the Soviet news agency, quickly picked up Powell's remarks, terming his attack "well-founded."

Throughout his career, Powell has enjoyed favorable treatment from the Communist press. (During the middle 1940s he edited a radical-left journal called **The People's Voice**.) He was also affiliated with such cited Communist fronts as the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, the American Youth Congress, the American League for Peace and Democracy, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the American League Against War and Fascism.

In 1959, Powell visited Cuba to pay tribute to Fidel Castro and last year demanded the United States reestablish diplomatic and commercial relations with Cuba. He is also an all-out foe of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, hardly surprising for a man who sought—and received—the nomination of the Communist-controlled American Labor party when he first ran for Congress.

The Strange Case of Mrs. Dodson's $5,000

In 1954, a Federal Grand Jury indicted Hattie Freeman Dodson, an official of Powell's Abyssinian Baptist Church, for income tax evasion. Evidence was introduced that Powell had placed Mrs. Dodson on his congressional payroll at $5,000 a year—and that she kicked back her salary. Mrs. Dodson was unable to recall a single duty she performed to earn this money.

Mrs. Dodson first maintained that she spent the $5,000 a year on clothes, then changed her story to say that she had secreted the money as a "surprise" for her husband. Her husband would indeed have been surprised, because he told government agents that he had no idea his wife was working for Powell.

The congressman was called for testimony and asked about the glaring contradictions in Mrs. Dodson's story. The transcript of her trial includes the following exchange between Powell and prosecutor Thomas Bolan:

Bolan: On how many occasions do you have to be informed that Mrs. Dodson lied before you would change your opinion as to whether she was capable of lying?

Powell: I don't know. The Bible tells me seventy times seven. . . .

Bolan: That is 490 times, is that right?

Powell: That is what Jesus said, yes sir.

Bolan: Until Mrs. Dodson admits that she lied on 490 occasions, you will stick to your opinion that she is not capable of telling a lie, is that right?

Powell: Yes it is, sir, yes it is.

Mrs. Dodson never did admit perjury, but the jury convicted her nonetheless, sending her to federal prison for seven months and fining her $1,000. When she left jail she found her old "job" waiting. She is carried now on Powell's congressional payroll as his $10,000-a-year "New York representative" and husband Howard T. Dodson receives a smaller salary from the ever-generous congressman.

Describing himself as a "humble parish priest," Powell conducts a service at his Harlem church. Powell now cannot enter the state of New York even on Sundays since he is under a criminal court citation.

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Religion in Schools

Halt! Who Goes There?

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

My state has a nice, toothy, anti-loitering law which prevents idlers, dope peddlers and other undesirables from lounging around school premises and annoying the kids. I used it the other day to give the bum's rush to an odd old character who was trying to get inside the school grounds with a sleigh full of suspicious-looking commodities.

"Name?" I asked suspiciously.

"Just call me Chris," he beamed through his whiskers.

"What's in the bag, Chris?" I probed.

"Glad you asked," the old fellow ho-ho-hoed, and he dumped the whole mess out onto the sidewalk. I had visions of a protest strike by our overworked custodians, but I persevered in the politest tradition of my profession.

"Identify each article, please."

Chris sat right down on the school walk, getting some black hop-scotch chalk on his bright red pants in the process.

"First a manger scene complete with donkeys and sheep," he said happily. "Some of the big city youngsters have never seen either one."

"Sorry," I replied frostily. "A creche is a symbol of aggressive Christian sectarianism, and the Supreme Court takes a pretty dim view of that, in case you hadn't heard."

Our uninvited guest seemed a bit taken aback.

"How about some shining scarlet candles and some tinkling silver bells?"

Completely unthinkable, of course. Candles are a part of Jewish ritual, and bells were used by Ikhnaton and his Egyptian sun-worshipers to welcome old Ra every morning. I told him, too, that if he persisted in trying to sneak religious objects into a public school he was going to be in serious trouble.

"But this is ridic—. Never mind!" he blurted, digging into his bag a little deeper. "Here's a nice Christmas tree, all decorated for the kiddies to look at and admire."

I was beginning to be shocked.

"A Christmas tree! Are you asking me to let you in here with that living example of the Germanic Odin-cult, and probably a phallic symbol to boot?"

The little old trespasser got up slowly, dusting off his baggy trousers. His eyes no longer twinkled.

"I suppose holly and mistletoe are out of the question?"

"Holly and mistletoe? Are you trying to prosyletize Druidism in a tax-supported institution? Celtic paganism is just as forbidden as any other kind of religion, you know."

Chris looked at me humbly.

"No, I didn't know. I always used to be welcome everywhere. Wherever the children gathered at the happy, glowing, golden time of year when the nights are longest and the need of the little ones for love and joy and wonder is greatest. Things *have* changed, haven't they?"

"They certainly have," I answered firmly. "If our courts have their way there's going to be no such thing as Christmas in the schools. Or Hanukkah. Or Ramadan, for that matter."

Chris sagged a little and began to repack his bag.

"How strange," he muttered to himself. "When life today has so little joy at best, how sad to take that little away from the children."

I bristled.

"You'd better take all that propaganda and get out of here," I warned him.

"I will," he assured me. And that's when it happened. He started humming *God Rest Ye Merry, Gentlemen* as he got into his sleigh, and some of the school children heard him through an open classroom window.

No use dwelling on what happened next. I called the cops, of course. Chris is in jail downtown, and his reindeer are being cared for by the local SPCA. He won't be back. The separation of church and state has been maintained. The children are safe.

I guess my only question is this: When I inspected the silent, sterile, rigidly functional school building that night before I locked up and went home, why did I shiver—hard?

All the thermostats were working fine.

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Cont'd from page 1

Kennedy vs. Hoover

the fact that on a number of subsequent occasions the attorney general personally listened to FBI tapes of bugged conversations.

On March 19, 1963, and on Nov. 4, 1963, for instance, Kennedy listened to FBI tapes in which top Cosa Nostra mobsters mapped strategy.

Kennedy now admits that he heard the tapes, but claims he was under the impression they had been made by local police. A top FBI official terms this ludicrous, adding: "If Bobby felt the practice was illegal, as he now claims, then he was duty bound, as the country's top law enforcement officer, to have the local police forces put a stop to the practice. But he did nothing."

Additional evidence that Kennedy was aware of FBI bugging was presented to the Supreme Court by the Justice Department earlier this year. On July 16 Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall filed a supplemental memorandum with the high court regarding an FBI microphone installed in the hotel suite of Bobby Baker associate Fred Black. The memo read, in part:

"Records of oral and written communications within the Department of Justice reflect concern by attorneys general and the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that the use of listening devices should be confined to a strictly limited category of situations. Under departmental practice in effect for a period of years prior to 1963, and continuing into 1965, *the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was given authority to approve the installation of devices such as that in question for intelligence (and not evidentiary) purposes when required in the interest of internal security or national safety, including organized crime, kidnapings and matters wherein human life might be at stake.*" [Emphasis added.]

Does Bobby Kennedy now maintain that Thurgood Marshall was lying when he reported that the FBI had been given specific authority to conduct electronic surveillance? The New York senator is unavailable for comment.

Gardner Ackley, far right, appears at Cabinet session on fiscal problems.

Recession Threat Grows

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

So long as President Johnson sustains any suspense about a 1967 tax rate increase, or passes the buck to Congress, a rattlesnake is warming up. Aren't we doing enough nutty things already?

Three years ago White House economic advisers Messrs. Ackley, Duesenberry and Okun, the three blind mice who crack open the fortune cookies for the President, argued in favor of a tax decrease "to increase revenue." You often get more revenue by reducing the tax rate, as many nonpolitical economists have claimed for years on end. The Washington geniuses agreed about 20 years late.

Now they argue for a tax rate increase "to increase revenue." Well, unless the moon is made entirely of green cheese, it would be self-defeating. It would not produce more revenue. Ironically, it could knock the bottom right out of the deficit boat, and at the very time when Washington could cut at least $10 billion in political pork and ridiculous fluff out of its spending of our money.

Moreover, the threat of a recession is too real, the recession rattlesnake too easy to prod, to support this kind of dangerous nonsense by the taxers.

The wisely enacted tax credit for construction and equipment really paid off in the economy as a whole—jobs, payrolls, income, tax revenues, everything. It was solemnly announced in 1962 as an integral and permanent part of our tax laws. Now it's repealed. Another government promise broken.

Underneath all the surface indicators what we've really seen from the spring of 1961 to mid-1966 is a capital investment boom. That's been the guts of it. The increased investment in plants and structures has averaged about 14 per cent a year. It has totalled about 70 per cent.

A recent survey covering the chief contributing companies showed startling results. Although 51 per cent replied that they will raise their 1966 capital investments in 1967, 49 per cent said they will cut them. The 1967 estimates are for only about a 3 per cent increase.

American industry usually borrows only about $1 billion annually to fill the gap between its capital investments and its own internal capital flow. In 1966 our enterprises borrowed $14 billion to fill the gap. Commercial bank loans and investments increased about twice as fast as the nation's Gross National Product in physical terms.

The three blind mice persistently ignore the extent to which this $14 billion in 1966 alone put our enterprises in hock. Yet this is basic in the business outlook. For profits peaked out in the first quarter of 1966, and only profits can justify, service and sustain the borrowings.

The three blind mice likewise ignore the touchy effect of inventory profits. From January to October 1966, nearly all commodity prices were advancing. Each 1 per cent rise in the value of our enterprises' inventories yields roughly $1 billion in apparent profits.

The economy is already caught in a cost squeeze, producers and consumers alike. Corporations do not pay taxes. They must pass them on to consumers in the price of any article or service as a part of the cost of production. Corporations merely serve as tax collectors for the government. Increase corporate taxes and up goes the cost of living.

Meanwhile, labor costs per unit are rising rapidly. Labor efficiency is down. As a glaring example, the troubled Douglas Aircraft Co. attributes part of its production problem to the fact that it has to hire and train three prospective workers to retain a net gain of two.

In spite of all the automation in American industry, output per man-hour fell this year and was lower than it was in 1961 or any year since. The Labor Department's own figures show that.

Yet are increased taxes to be loaded on top of all this? Nothing could more surely guarantee the prospect of a recession. And who ever knows how far a recession will go or the echoes from it?

The sound you hear in the tax-boost talk is as dangerous and foreboding as the hiss of a rattlesnake announcing itself.

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"IF PRESIDENT JOHNSON is sincere about the 'War on Poverty,' he would shift a large portion of the $50 to $60 billion now being squandered on the destructiveness of war to the constructive projects urgently needed to solve the people's economic problems. He would shift much of the talent and brainpower now being wasted on planning and producing for killing into planning and producing for peace."—From an editorial in the *Worker*, Oct. 12, 1965

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Speaks Up on Missile Crisis

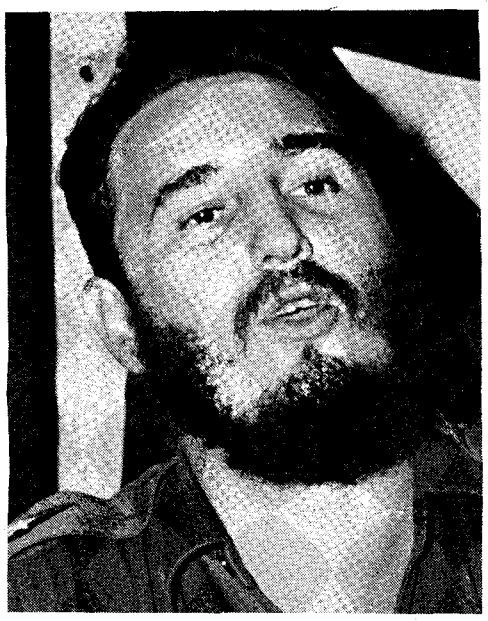
Castro Confirms Existence of Secret Pacts

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

It is a telling commentary on the state of American journalism that a major pronouncement on a historic event should appear in *Playboy*, a publication better known for its cartoons and its photos of naked girls. Yet *Playboy* is the vehicle for comments by Fidel Castro, dictator of Communist Cuba, on the missile crisis that shook America and the world in October 1962.

It is even sadder that Americans should be forced to get their information from Castro rather than from the White House or the State Department. "Freedom of information" and the "right to know" are phrases bandied about by the Liberal Establishment which controls the government in Washington. But these freedoms and rights are always forgotten when the facts are embarrassing to the party in power.

Fidel Castro's comments, extracted from a 25-hour interview in the January issue, confirm reports disclosed by this columnist and by others at the time of the missile crisis. They were denied, though never categorically, by the Kennedy Administration at the time.



Fidel Castro's Playboy interview raises new doubts about the credibility of the JFK and Johnson Administrations.

Few of us were convinced then, and new doubts will be raised by the *Playboy* interview.

What Castro says is this—that the United States made a number of secret agreements and concessions in order to "end" the crisis in time for the November 1962 election. Comrade Castro, of course, is drawing a propaganda longbow when he says that the Soviet Union has lived up to those agreements, whereas the United States has not. But he rings a bell when he adds that "even more agreements exist besides, about which not a word has ever been said."

"One day, perhaps," Castro adds, "it will be known that the United States made some other concessions in relation to the October [1962] crisis besides those that were made public." What President Kennedy and Comrade Nikita Khrushchev decided was "not an agreement in accordance with protocol. It was an agreement that took place by letter and through diplomatic channels."

And here is where we get to the nub. For at the time that the Kennedy Administration finally admitted that the Soviets had set up missile bases in Cuba which threatened the security—and perhaps the existence—of the United States, Mr. Kennedy did engage in an exchange of letters with Comrade Khrushchev. It was known then that these letters bound the United States to certain undertakings.

The then attorney general, Robert Kennedy, and others privy to what was going on at the White House admitted that there had been this important exchange of letters. But the contents were never made public. Nor was the full extent of the understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Communists made a show of withdrawing some of the missiles. But in the process President Kennedy's promise that the issue would not be settled until there was adequate inspection of the missile sites was quietly swept under the carpet.

Reliable sources at the time stated that part of the Kennedy-Khrushchev deal for the "withdrawal" of Soviet missiles in Cuba was a matching action by the United States which would shut down American missile bases in Turkey. That much was denied, yet shortly thereafter those bases were closed down, giving the Soviets that much more room for maneuver in Europe and the Mediterranean.

But the question—never answered and now given new life by the Castro interview—remains: Did President Kennedy promise to allow Cuba to become a privileged sanctuary for Communist subversion in exchange for some kind of gesture by Comrade Khrushchev to end the missile crisis?

The record since October 1962 would seem to indicate that some such concession was made to the Soviets and to the Cubans. Fidel Castro has been allowed to go his merry way, supplying arms and trained saboteurs to subversive movements in Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala and other Latin American countries. From time to time the State Department slaps Castro's wrists for the sustained onslaught on the peace and internal tranquillity of the Central and South American republics suffering from Castroite aggression. But little more is done.

The extensive diplomatic weapons available to the United States in bringing about the economic collapse of Castro Cuba have never been employed and America's allies continue to ship desperately needed materials to the Communists there. Is this due to one of the concessions Castro mysteriously cites in *Playboy*? Rumor and conjecture will be downed only if the White House releases the full text of the Kennedy-Khrushchev correspondence and all other pertinent documents.

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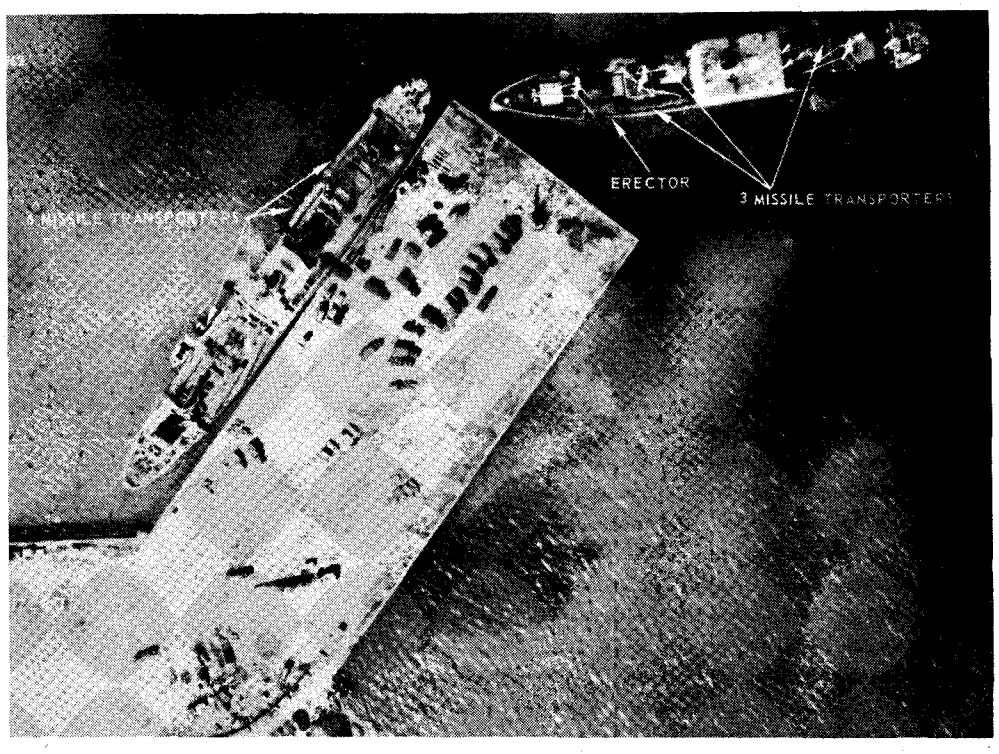

This USAF photo taken from a reconnaisance plane shows Soviet missiles purportedly being shipped out of Cuba after the Kennedy-Khrushchev "confrontation." But reports from various sources insist that many missiles still remain in that country.

Is Anti-Americanism Really Necessary?

By HENRY HAZLITT

In every other country of the world, it seems, the secret of political success is to be anti-American.

Britain, for example, wants to get into the Common Market. To get into the Common Market it is necessary to please Charles de Gaulle. To please de Gaulle one must distrust the United States.

In a speech to the English-Speaking Union, of all audiences, Prime Minister Wilson said on November 30:

"Our American friends, because they are our friends, will understand when I say that, however much we welcome new American investment here, as in other parts of Europe, there is no one on either side of the channel who wants to see capital investment in Europe involve domination or, in the last resort, subjugation."

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson has an unreasonable and unwarranted fear of American economic "subjugation" of the European economy.

I hope our British friend, because he is our friend, will understand when we say that he is talking mischievous nonsense.

De Gaulle, of course, has been talking such nonsense for several years. He has expressed fears of "domination" by American-owned firms, though I do not recall that he has been silly enough to use the word "subjugation."

There is no excuse for either word. The French weekly *L'Economie* pointed out recently that American investments in France represented barely 2 per cent of that country's gross national product.

Foreign countries sometimes complain that American investment is concentrated too much in certain industries. Wilson told his Anglo-American audience that when he took office two years ago he acted quickly to save the British computer industry from being submerged by American concerns. He did it by government investment grants. But the American concerns were supplying a desired service to their British customers—and so on net balance helping, not hurting, British industry.

Insofar as the fear of "domination" implies that American-owned companies may have too much to say about the economic decisions of the government of the country in which they are located, the real danger is the other way around.

The American-owned company puts itself at the mercy of the government of the host country. Its capital in the form of buildings, equipment and even bank deposits may be trapped. In the last 25 years, as American-owned companies (and even British-owned companies) in Asia, the Near East and South America have learned to their sorrow, the dangers of harassment and even expropriation are very real.

Harold Wilson went on to talk more Gaullist nonsense on the necessity of building a Europe strong enough to "stand up" to the United States. World trade would prosper, he said, "to the extent that a greater equality can be built up between the powerful economic communities on each side of the Atlantic."

Now, every country has a right to build up its economy as much as it can. But the advantages of trade between any two nations are mutual, whether or not they are of "equal strength and power." Uruguay can enjoy mutually profitable trade with Britain, regardless of their relative "strength and power."

To assert the necessity of making Europe strong enough to "stand up" to the United States is to regard international trade and investment as primarily a contest. This is a reversion to the discredited mercantilist philosophy of the 17th Century.

U.S. investment in Britain benefits both nations. Britain and the rest of Europe need all the capital they can get from their most rapid economic growth and technological advance. The United States is still the country best able to supply that capital.

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When Cell Door Shuts, Hoffa's Had It

Teamster leader won't be able to follow plan to run union from jail

By VICTOR RIESEL

During the eerie, sobbing hours after the assassination of John Kennedy, some of Bob Kennedy's intimates talked alternately softly and sternly with him about "getting out of the line of fire."

Those were the exact words used. But the attorney general stayed on amid the sustained uneasiness which had in part been whipped up by a melodramatic report from a tough, free-swinging Baton Rouge, La., Teamster official, Edward G. Partin in September 1962.

As Assistant U.S. Atty. Gen. Fred Vinson Jr. related this to the Supreme Court on Oct. 13, 1966, Partin had come to the Justice Department in September 1962 and said that James Riddle Hoffa had made plans to have Bob Kennedy murdered. The justices were aghast when Mr. Vinson added that lie detector tests had been given Partin and they indicated he was telling the truth. This is now part of the court record.

It also is another bit of turbulence on the oceans of reasons why Jim Hoffa

Jail-bound Teamster chief Jimmy Hoffa was not as popular with fellow union officials as he thought.

positively will not run the Teamsters' Brotherhood from prison.

The Teamsters, to the muscle born, are weary over turbulence and violence on top. They are through with internal terror. They are sick of being afraid.

They shudder at the recounting of the moment when Jim Hoffa stretched out both hands before him, clenched his fists, growled like a hungry night animal and sprang forward to smash at the face of Sam Baron, the only man inside the Teamsters who had the guts to attempt to keep his own spine and self-respect in place.

Until the Monday morning Supreme Court decision, the sub-alternate leaders in this massive distributive network were simply physically afraid of "Jimmy." They may have called him "Champ" or "the Kid," but they knew of the Mafiosi and friends of the mob who stalked the land's by-ways with Hoffa—in Detroit, Iowa City, Miami, New York and Chicago.

They knew this crowd to be uglier than the garden variety plug-uglies of old-fashioned "educational" committees.

They knew it. They got to hate it. They wondered how they had gotten into it. Publicly they fawned over him. Privately they prayed for the court to slam "that door" behind him.

And from the inside they could see what the public couldn't—the awesome, passionate reaching for power which in time could rival that of the President of the United States should it come to a showdown on the industrial front.

Hoffa's power base is the national master freight agreement—and the basic word is "master." It gives the Teamsters' president the authority to make a central agreement covering 450,000 over-the-road teamsters. This Hoffa was—and is—set to link with local haulage and intra-city carting.

Slowly the contracts were to be worked over so they would expire on the same day. All deliveries of all kinds—and collections too. Milk and food and fuel and garbage. Everything going in and out of the livelihood of a city, an economy, a nation.

Yes, that's how we Hoffa-ologists saw him evolve. He took power over the negotiations and the locals. He never thought the unthinkable. On the Friday before the Monday you could have gotten 10 to 5 that the court would free him, and then he would consolidate his power over all the Teamsters' locals' bargaining. Only some few "supplements" to the contracts would be in the purview of tens of thousands of local Teamster officials.

With such control, and with the absolute power of the presidency of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, James Hoffa could decide the day the United States should stand still.

Among those immobilized in many ways would have been all those Teamster officials who cheered "the Kid" when he was around but moaned low when they found themselves losing power over their union's negotiations, activities and pension and welfare funds.

And now they'll wait for Hoffa to move first. Once in prison he'll find himself cut off from such powerful regional Teamster officials as the western conference's Einar Mohn, or the central states' Harold Gibbons, or the South's Dusty Miller. Nor will they do business for long with Hoffa's spiritless hand-picked heir, Frank Fitzsimmons. This was obvious from their criss-crossing, long-distance telephone conversations that morning before they headed to Washington to answer to the summons from Hoffa's Taj Mahal.

They want respectability. They will carve their big union into regional baronies now. They will have a central headquarters in name only as a sort of Washington monument for the Sunday suit and party dress tourist crowd converging from the locals to "ooh and ah."

They'll go back into the AFL-CIO, probably at the national convention next December. They'll respect the government now a bit more because this time the "Federals" got their man directly—no subterfuge like tax evasion—on just straight corruption charges.

They'll say openly what they used to mouth quietly—like, they're glad the little s.o.b. got it and they're rid of the guy who screamed when they shut down the Teamsters headquarters without his permission the day John Kennedy was shot. He saw no reason to mourn.

When that cell door shuts, Hoffa's had it.

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U.S. Silver Stocks Sink, Despite Coin Cutback

By WALTER TROHAN

Treasury silver stocks are dwindling despite the Administration's campaign to remove the metal from its historic role in coinage. Federal silver holdings have declined sharply in five years. In time it may be necessary to raise the price of the metal in an effort to end hoarding.

Early in 1962 Treasury stocks of silver stood at 1.9 billion ounces. They dropped to 803 million ounces last January 1, after passage of legislation ending silver backing for dollars and taking silver out of most coins. By the end of November stocks had dropped below 610 million ounces.

Silver stocks were threatened not only by greater demand for coins, which were needed for vending machines, parking meters, toll roads and the like, but also by the greater demand for the metal in industry, which employs it in electronic components, photography, metal bonding, batteries and silver ware.

On June 4, 1963, Congress authorized federal reserve banks to issue $1 bills to replace silver certificates. Up to that time the smallest federal reserve note was the $ bill. The $1 silver certificates were backed by a little more than ¾ of an ounce of silver, now worth about a dollar on the market.

The 1963 legislation provided for the redemption of silver certificates in bullion at $1.2929 an ounce. The price of silver in the New York market had been $0.9162 early in 1963.

At the time the $1 Federal Reserve bills were authorized, something over 1.3 billion ounces of silver were required for backing the silver certificates. Of the Treasury's silver store, 440 million ounces are needed for unredeemed silver certificates. This leaves about 167 million ounces of free silver in the Treasury stocks, or barely enough to meet what has been estimated as necessary to meet critical national needs.

Silver production, largely a by-product of other metals such as copper, lead and zinc, has averaged between 35 and 40 million ounces a year over the last five years.

How long the Treasury can maintain the price of silver at $1.2929 an ounce is debatable. The pressure of silver for coinage has been relieved under the law of June 23, 1965, which took all silver out of dimes and quarters and reduced the amount of silver in the half dollar from 90 per cent to 40 per cent.

Under the law, as it stands, the Treasury must redeem outstanding silver certificates with silver dollars or silver bullion. If the requirement should be voided by law, the treasury would have something like 440 million ounces available for "critical national needs" and for sale on the market to keep down the price.

Coinage demands have lessened, but those of industry have risen so that the program has not halted the drain of silver stores. The Treasury has been selling the silver at the price of $1.2929 from its stores. Once it stops selling from this source, the price of silver will rise.

It is estimated that the price of silver will have to rise to $1.40 an ounce before hoarders begin releasing their coins. This price would make the melting of coins profitable with allowances for the cost of melting, assembly, transportation and the like.

No drastic rise in the price of silver is seen as long as these coins exist. There has been some hoarding of foreign silver coins, but these generally have had less silver than their face value, so they are not a factor.

It is possible that the price of silver could rise to $2 an ounce or higher, but such a rise would be tempered by disgorging of coin hoards.

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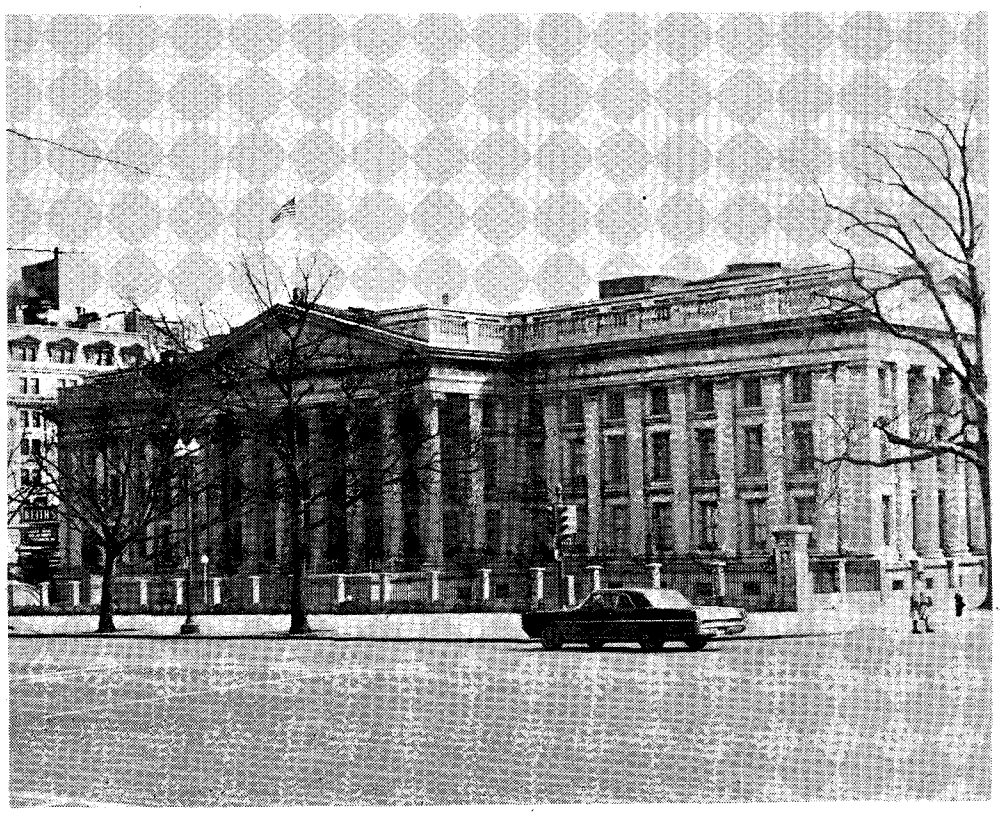

Treasury silver holdings are declining, which may force a rise in silver prices.

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JOHN F. KENNEDY once remarked that he had never joined the leftist Americans for Democratic Action, adding, "I'm not comfortable with those people." But both of his younger brothers apparently are. Bobby will deliver the feature address at the Philadelphia ADA's annual dinner January 28, and Teddy will speak at the annual banquet of the Boston chapter March 4. Only four senators were given perfect voting records by the ADA last year, Bobby and Teddy among them.

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Negro Self-Help Stages a Breakthrough

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Long before Stokely Carmichael started chanting about "Black Power," Dr. Thomas W. Matthew, a Negro neurosurgeon, began his own exercise of "Black Power" in the New York City borough of Queens.

Since the Matthew version took the form of an "interfaith"—i.e., an integrated—hospital which he almost literally scratched together by enlisting borrowed money and volunteer Negro labor, it wasn't quite what Carmichael has been talking about. Unlike Stokely Carmichael, Dr. Matthew wants the help of white people and white money, and he wants to serve white and black patients alike, depending on their needs.

For months on end Dr. Matthew hardly knew whether his hospital would be alive at sundown. The money for it came hard, and at practically usurious rates.

The state health authorities insisted that he "staff up" for 200 beds, which he couldn't afford. Dr. Matthew didn't want federal or state grants, or even donations from a foundation; he wanted the hospital to move ahead on private finance and earned fees, with the eventual profits going into a corporation that might branch out and help rebuild Negro slums or establish hospitals in other cities.

He tried to interest the politicians—Nelson Rockefeller, John Lindsay, Bobby Kennedy—in his voluntaristic version of black power, thinking they could prod private capital, and occasionally he would get some purely verbal encouragement. But there was never any money.

All of a sudden, however, some of those doors at which Dr. Matthew was pounding have begun to open. Quite possibly the failure of the U.S. Congress to appropriate the $185-billion "freedom budget" for slum eradication which the

New York's Gov. Rockefeller has been cool to the idea of a voluntary corporation to finance slum hospitals.

Negro leader, A. Philip Randolph, has been asking for has had something to do with Dr. Matthew's own breakthrough.

Gov. Rockefeller, though he still gave no encouragement about a voluntary non-profit corporation to finance hospitals and rebuild slum property, asked his State Health Department to assist Mayor John Lindsay and New York City's health service administrator, Howard Brown, in the transfer of 100 chronically ill patients from overworked municipal hospitals to Dr. Matthew's establishment.

The transfer began last month with a small initial trickle of three patients, one of whom, a white woman who had been stuck in a "temporary" bed in a corridor in a Harlem hospital for over a year, had never been taught to read. She had been described to Dr. Matthew as mentally retarded as well as being crippled, but since she has been at the Matthew hospital she has started to learn the alphabet from volunteer teachers.

This columnist has had several talks with Dr. Matthew during the past couple of years, and has been impressed with the man's qualities as a political thinker. While Dr. Matthew doesn't oppose Medicare, he thinks that in many cases it has merely served as a government subsidy that allows young people to "put old people away." They are sometimes "put away" in hospitals that, however adequately they may be funded, lack the human resources to give patients any really interested care. Dr. Matthew's vision of his own race is that it is peculiarly suited to provide warm care. This is what he hopes to "sell" at his own Interfaith Hospital.

Completion of the transfer of 100 chronic cases to Dr. Matthew's unused beds will bring some $700,000 a year into the hospital's coffers. This will let it begin the long process of refunding a debt that never should have been forced upon it. There was never any reason for the state regulations that compelled Dr. Matthew to maintain more staff than he needed at a time when he was struggling to get a niche in the hospital world.

Dr. Matthew's hospital is merely a drop in the bucket when the total needs of urban slum dwellers are considered. But it is symbolic of the newest movement in the drive to get the Negro off and running on the self-help road to meaningful "Black Power."

Self-help workshops are being held in slums around the country, and Dr. Matthew has interested several groups in Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland and Buffalo in the idea of starting non-profit private corporations to build hospitals and to revitalize slum property.

Incidentally, Dr. Matthew will be saving New York City taxpayers quite a bit of money. He will be charging the city $20 a day per patient. It has been costing the city $50 to keep a chronic patient in a bed needed for an acute case.

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Ad Restrictions

Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen last week accused the Department of Agriculture of tampering with the constitutional guarantees of a free press. The Illinois lawmaker noted the 175th anniversary of the Bill of Rights with a scathing attack on the latest bureaucratic restrictions on newspaper and and broadcast advertising.

Dirksen disclosed that an Agriculture Department hearing examiner has handed down a decision prohibiting—as "economically wasteful and anti-social"—an advertising campaign of Armour and Co., Chicago meat packers.

In a bid to boost sales, the firm had offered buyers of a two-pound package of bacon a 50-cent refund if they mailed part of the wrapper to the company. Agriculture Department lawyers demanded the advertising campaign be terminated, asserting that Armour and Co. was selling its bacon below cost. A department hearing examiner agreed, and Armour was notified that it would be violating the law if it continued with its "wasteful and anti-social" campaign.

An angry Dirksen noted that the first amendment of the Bill Rights is explicit in its guarantee of a free press. "If any tampering is ever permitted with the American right to inform and be informed, this nation will be in grave danger," said the Illinois senator.

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"LIKE IT OR NOT, our society is becoming more and more interdependent and its public agencies must take a hand in planning matters that once were left to private groups," says U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe. Replies Dr. John Howard, president of Rockford (Ill.) College: "Well, I like it not and in all earnestness I believe that American education will be impoverished as the responsibility is transferred from local hands to the hands of Mr. Howe or any single commissioner, whatever his political persuasion."

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ACLU AIDS LEFTIST—The American Civil Liberties Union has come to the aid of Walter D. Teague III, head of a New York committee that raises money for the Viet Cong. Customs officials have held up a shipment of North Vietnamese propaganda addressed to Teague until he obtains a foreign assets control license, as required by law. An ACLU attorney maintained the license would somehow abridge Teague's right to free speech and press.

DON'T ARGUE
about today's "mess"

Do it the easy, effective way. Hand 'em a little card. It will give them a chuckle as it also gives them an "injection." Send name, address, $1. and this ad to 'Tain't Funny but True, Drawer 72, Whittier, Calif. 90608, for **AN ASSORTMENT OF THESE CLEVER** *(that's why they're effective)* **LITTLE CARDS.**

Congressmen Believe No Tax Hike Will Go Into Effect Before July

From the Allen-Scott Report

Taxpayers can definitely be sure of one thing on that much-discussed question of a tax increase—there won't be one for at least six months, and perhaps even longer.

Regardless of whether President Johnson decides to ask the new Congress for higher taxes in January, as most Administration insiders now are convinced he will, no hike will go into effect before July.

Several compelling reasons are behind this certainty.

One is that Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), powerful chairman, and a majority of the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee, are adamantly against any tax boost becoming effective before July.

Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler also supports this view.

Another important reason is Mills' determination to first consider increasing Social Security benefits—strongly favored by both the Administration and Republicans. It is his firm plan to open hearings on this legislation soon after the new Congress meets.

In talks with congressional and Administration leaders, Mills has bluntly warned them not to expect any action on the tax issue before spring.

"If the President does decide to seek higher taxes," Mills said, "you can tell him there is no likelihood of anything being done before July 1. Also, there is no chance of a tax increase being made retroactive. There is very emphatic opposition to that in both parties. A poll of my own committee shows it is unanimous against a retroactive tax hike."

Mills has given no indication of his own attitude on a tax raise. He says he is withholding judgment until the White House has made its views known.

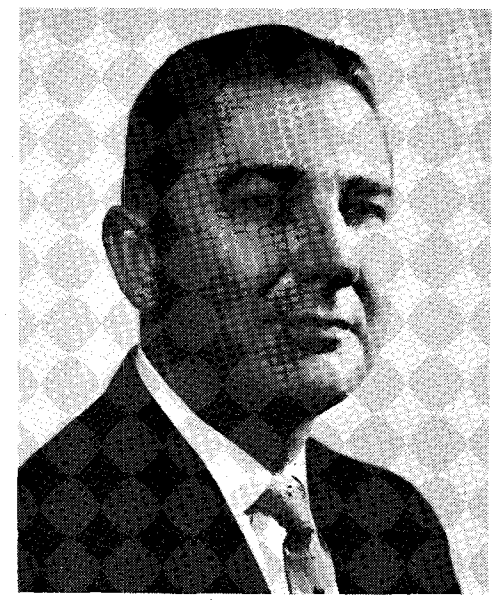
"Members of my committee are very uneasy about increasing taxes," said Mills. "As the President says he is doing, they want to delay making up their minds as long as possible to determine what effect higher taxes would have on the economy. A request for a hike will require long hearings, running well into the spring."

Another problem on putting a tax raise into effect was injected by Treasury Secretary Fowler.

He has informed the Ways and Means Committee that the Internal Revenue Service will "need at least two months after Congress passes a tax bill to arrange the administrative handling of such legislation."

★ ★ ★

Members of the White House staff handling communications have been sternly enjoined to eliminate flippancies in their language. In the course of transmitting messages relating to the President, they have been referring to him as "the Great Cowboy" and "the Big Man." This is severely frowned on. They can refer to the President as "the Boss," but nothing more colloquial.



Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) is opposed to any new tax increase, as are most members of his Ways and Means Committee.

To certain important visitors to the President's ranch, he has dropped hints that the next appointee to the Cabinet will be a prominent Republican. Beyond that, there has been no clue as to whom the President has in mind or for what position.

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Will 'Doctrinaires' Bring War in Rhodesia?

By FREDERIC NELSON

By this time, one would imagine, the British people must be wondering how much it is going to cost them to have put the country in charge of Doctrinaires. A doctrinaire, according to Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary,* is "one who would apply a political or economic system based on abstract doctrines or theories, without enough regard for practical difficulties."

It is a word we don't hear very often now because here, almost as busily as in England, the doctrinaire is in full charge. It is better semantics to refer to doctrinaires as Modern, Progressive Administrators.

Just the same, only a dedicated doctrinaire could have got a nation into such a mess as Harold Wilson's Labor government has plunged England, in order to impose on Rhodesia the abstract doctrine "one man, one vote."

This abstraction is irrelevant in the United States or Great Britain, or any country in which representative government is supposed to be the rule. In tribal Africa it is meaningless. Nevertheless, the British people, having put Socialist doctrinaires in charge, are stuck with it.

Sanctions will again be voted by the United Nations, now in hock to the views of "emerging nations" with excessive voting power far more scandalous than that in the "rotten boroughs" which so outrages the one man, one vote fanatics. The sanctions as first applied will not, of course, appease the emerging nations, and Britian will have to face the possibility of applying sanctions also to South Africa, whose trade is vital to Great Britain at this critical time.

Finally the clamor, along with the futility of halfway sanctions, may bring about military action. The doctrinaire editor of the Manchester *Guardian,* all for peace in Viet Nam, of course, is for that already.

Of course the U.S.A. branch of the Doctrinaire International will go along, as it has been going for the past several years. We agreed to the earlier blockade of Rhodesia by the United Nations, despite the plain violation of the U.N. Charter implicit in that action.

As Arthur Krock put it in the New York *Times,* we imposed "devastating sanctions against the Rhodesian white minority, which is an island of African stability in a sea of instability and incompetence." He might have added that Rhodesia's attempted solution of the race problem comes nearer to the one man, one vote ideal than do political arrangements in the totalitarian regimes in African countries which scream loudest against Rhodesia.

Even here, it took a doctrinaire Socialist regime to dispose of assets which Britain and the West already have in Africa. The theory in Washington and Labor-London has been that, if the noisiest "emerging nations" were not appeased, racial violence of unprecedented fury would engulf the dark continent.

Conceivably so; but for a non-doctrinaire administrator the immediate question would be: "What will happen to the small African nations whose emergence depends on trade and good relations with their neighbors, black or white?"

During the hottest of the recent rhetoric, there have been signs that Lesotho, formerly Basutoland, wanted no part of a race war. Last September, at the height of the hoopla over Rhodesia, Lesotho's prime minister called on the late South African Premier Verwoerd for a discussion of issues of concern to both countries.

As the London *Telegraph's* Cape Town correspondent interpreted the result, "it signified that Chief Jonathan will certainly not toe the anti-South Africa, anti-*apartheid* policy so strenuously pursued by the Organization for African Unity." Again in October Chief Jonathan affirmed his insistence on friendly relations with South Africa.

Still more recently, the New York *Times* printed a round-up of the situation among Rhodesia's neighbors, the conclusion being that "the trend among many black African states appears to be to stay at peace with their neighbors and spend their energies and resources as much as possible on relief of their own needs." If you like you can call this "We'll take the cash and let the credit go to Harold Wilson," but one need not be a completely unregenerate, cynical reactionary to believe that the President Kaunda of Zambia who agrees that he must negotiate with Rhodesia over the railway line which the two countries own jointly is a sounder fellow than the President Kaunda who threatens to leave the British Commonwealth (although taking British money) unless force is used against the Smith regime.

Also there is President Banda of Malawi who, early in the struggle, emphatically declared that he did not "want central Africa to become the battleground between white imperialism to the West and yellow imperialism to the East." He denounced African leaders who "shouted about intervention in Rhodesia to gain cheap popularity on the African continent," adding the realistic observation that "there is not an African state today with an economy which can finance a war or recruit and train an army."

Of course, Conor Cruise O'Brien, the scourge of the Congo, if given another U.N. command, might redress that balance. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, Our Man at the Last Great Hope On Earth, has said that we will never be "content with a minority government in Southern Rhodesia"—content as we are with minority government in the USSR, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania and even North Viet Nam, if they'll *only* come to the conference table.

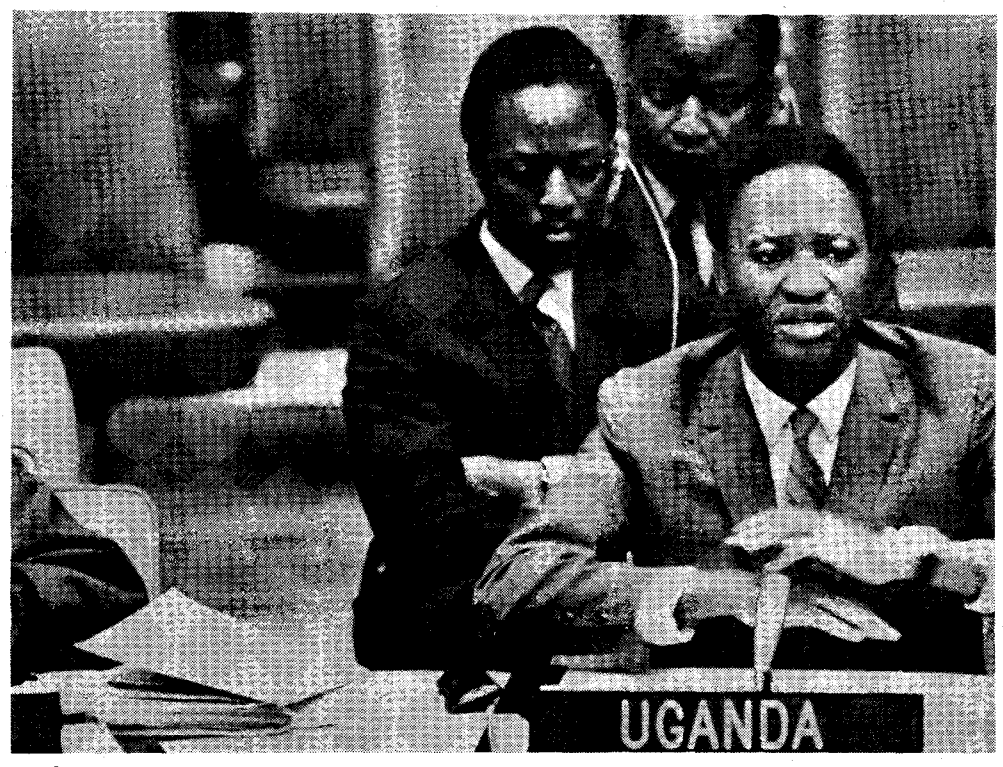
How much of a war we are willing to be content with for such a vague ideological cause is something else.

Were the United Nations enthusiasts really concerned about peace, as they are supposed to be, they would take at least a passing interest in the views of black African nations which have spoken out for peace and whose economies, if not their very existence, would be seriously in jeopardy if their continent is afflicted with another U.N. ideological war.

It is probably too much to expect a doctrinaire like Mr. Wilson and his super-doctrinaire left-wing back benchers to be swayed by sordid material conditions like these. What would "world opinion" say if common sense raised its ugly head on such an issue?

However, there is evidence that Mr. Wilson is beginning to panic over what may happen next. Suppose South Africa won't play ball! Suppose the United Nations then decides to impose an economic blockade on South Africa! After all, the U.N. spends most of its spare time passing thunderous resolutions against South Africa. No folly, however fantastic, can be excluded altogether. And there would go one more important prop to Britain's shaky economy.

After all, this is not the first boo boo by Britain's Labor doctrinaires. Two years ago plus, Mr. Wilson angrily vetoed an order from the Spanish government for frigates to be built in British shipyards. No truck with Fascist Franco! He then cancelled naval exercises which were to have been conducted in cooperation with the Spanish fleet. And yet Mr. Wilson and his ideologue colleagues remain surprised over Spain's unsympathetic attitude on Gibraltar!



Apollo K. Kironde, Uganda's ambassador to the United Nations, demands a complete embargo on oil shipments to Rhodesia at a recent Security Council meeting.

Britain has taken slaps in the face from Indonesia, Red China, Nasser's Egypt and a spate of ex-colonials without noticeable loss of serene indifference. But Spain is a special "thing" with left-wingers, there as here. When *that* bell tolls, it's to hell with economics.

So also with the white Rhodesians, who are, after all, Englishmen trying to make a go of it in a difficult environment. Their efforts to make a life for themselves and to advance the native majority to real participation in the social arrangements count for nothing with leftish doctrinaires. It's one man, one vote *now*—or sanctions, blockades, maybe even war.

And America, which ought to be cooling it, looks like getting into the fracas under the discredited aegis of the United Nations, all for the sake of delivering a viable state over to probable anarchy, in the name of a patently fraudulent and unworkable slogan.

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Real Meaning of Inflation Becomes Clearer Every Day

By ARTHUR A. SMITH in the Dallas *Morning News*

The real meaning of inflation is now impressing itself upon the vast majority of American people. It has begun to hit the family budget some hard blows—quite sensitive blows. A recent survey by a very reputable national research organization indicates that over four fifths of the people are worried about inflation and about where prices will go from here.

Most sensational expression of concern is the spreading of spontaneous demonstrations by groups of housewives protesting high food prices. It is rather ironical that they chose one of the most efficient, most narrow-margined and most competitive components of our entire retailing system to revolt against.

So narrow is the margin of profit in food retailing that a cut of a mere 1.5 cents on each dollar of prices would eventually drive many food retailers out of business, if their cost of merchandise and their operating costs could not be reduced.

It is difficult to see how the housewives' revolt directly will roll back food prices at the retail level. Until the real cause of inflation is eliminated—the real source of the poison—we can expect the general level of prices to continue to trend upward, as it has for at least a quarter of a century.

Inflation is inherent in the economic and political philosophy that dominates official and popular thinking of this country.

The people themselves, wittingly or unwittingly, have bought the theory that controlled inflation is good, without examining carefully the long-run validity of the idea of pausing to consider how inflation can be controlled under our political system.

Dr. Smith is economist for the First National Bank in Dallas.

Indirectly, however, the housewives' rebellion might arouse the general public sufficiently that the latter will demand a halt to governmental monetary and fiscal policies which generate inflation. If so, it will have served the national interest and been a good thing.

History teaches us some valuable lessons about inflation, if we would only learn. Dr. Gottfried Haberler in his recent book, *Inflation: Its Causes and Cures—With A New Look At Inflation in 1966,* points directly to one historical fact that should be noted foremost:

" . . . there is no record in the economic history of the whole world, anywhere or at any time, of a serious and prolonged inflation which has not been accompanied and made possible, if not directly caused, by a large increase in the quantity of money."

From this we draw a valid inference: Serious inflation is always a man-made condition resulting from decisions of monetary authorities to create excessive amounts of money and credit.

If we look just at our own nation's experience with serious inflation in the course of history, we find verification of this. We have had four outstanding bouts with inflation, each associated with a war:

• The period of the revolution—The Continental Congress, having no power to tax sufficiently to finance the Revolutionary War, resorted to printing presses and issued paper money in amounts quite large for those times. Ultimately, the paper money became practically worthless, giving rise to the expression, "Not worth a Continental."

• The Civil War—Both the Union and the Confederacy resorted to the printing press for money. After the war the United States faced the problem of retiring war-created debt, including the greenbacks, and returning to a metallic standard, as set up in the Coinage Act of 1792. In 1879 the government resumed specie payments, but under a compromise arrangement that prevented full retirement of all the war-created greenbacks—so that even today we still have in circulation $347 million worth of paper money from the Civil War.

• World War I—The government utilized the credit-creating powers of the relatively new Federal Reserve System. Instead of printing money to help finance the war, Uncle Sam sold his IOUs to the Federal Reserve System, including commercial banks, in exchange for created or expanded credit. The total federal debt reached a peak of $25 billion. Once more the government set about to retire the credit that had been created, and by 1930 the debt had been reduced to $16 billion.

• World War II—The war effort was largely financed in the same manner as was World War I, except in greater magnitude. Over 60 per cent of the costs of World War II were met with credit, and the federal debt reached a peak of $270 billion in 1946. Unlike what happened after the Civil War and after World War I, there has been no concerted, sustained effort on the part of the government to retire the debt, which now stands at $325 billion, a part of which has become monetized.

Why not? Principally because we now operate under a far different economic and political philosophy from that which prevailed after the preceding two inflation experiences.

This philosophy does not countenance such things as balanced budgets and debt retirement. It holds in its typical hocus-pocus rationalizing that "it makes no difference about the size of the debt, we owe it to ourselves."

But it has brought inflation—and no hocus-pocus rationalizing can deny the fact that the American dollar has lost about 60 per cent of its buying power since 1940—and appears destined to lose more.

Who is going to stop inflation? About the best answer is nobody, until inflation scares enough people into realizing that they have a vested stake in price stability because they cannot increase their incomes fast enough to offset higher prices.

Here are some folks rather large in number—who ought to be very concerned:

• More than 120 million policyholders owning in excess of $800 billion in life insurance.

• More than 20 million persons drawing federal old-age, survivors and disability insurance payments — Social Security.

• About 30 million workers covered by private retirement plans.

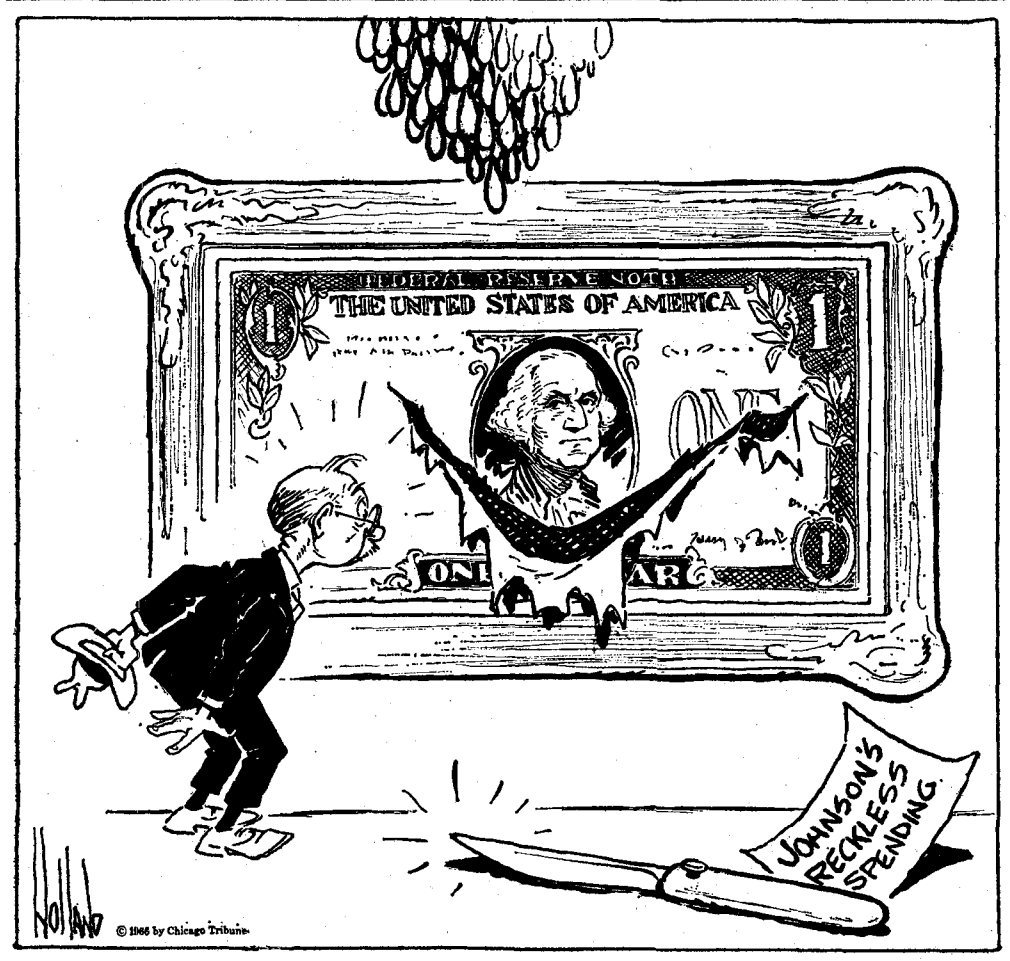
• An undetermined number of millions of workers, such as school teachers and other public employes whose wages and salaries tend to lag behind rising prices.

• Also an undetermined amount of *thrifty people who have saved for* retirement and invested in fixed-income obligations, including savings bonds—only to see inflation eat away year after year at the real value of their savings.

Of course, not everyone is convinced that inflation is a bad thing.

They are (1) the debtors who expect to pay in cheaper dollars; (2) property and security owners who expect not just to hedge against, but to profit from inflation; and (3) that uncertain number who have been duped into believing that inflation is necessary to keep the economy always moving ahead.

Another Mutilated Picture in Washington



Our Over-Privileged 'Nons'

By ALICE WIDENER

The majority of us Americans have to be with it so that the "nons" can dig it; that is, the non-students wishing to take advantage of all its freedoms to destroy it, the non-believers wishing to convert our churches to God-is-dead secular agencies, the non-producers wishing to abolish capitalism but live off it, the non-workers spurning jobs but wanting guaranteed annual incomes.

In foreign affairs we tolerate the sophistry of the non-aligned nation depending for defense of its freedom on us. In national affairs we tolerate the sophistry of the non-aligned citizen who constantly demands the privilege of being out of step with the rest of us, confident that if he lags behind or straggles away into a maze or simply gets lost, the majority of us will go back to give him a lift, or extricate him from confusion, or go hunting for him to bring him safely back home.

Webster's dictionary defines "non" as a prefix that is merely negative, while "un" is positive. The prefix non is generally less emphatic than other negative prefixes. Non-religious is less negative than irreligious; non-Christian than un-Christian; non-moral than immoral; non-patriotic than unpatriotic.

The "nons" are a weak lot, like pale gray caterpillars. They drop off this or that, or curl up on it, but don't take any real position.

The "nons" are extremely luxury-loving. They want the luxury of nibbling at the hand that feeds them, of cravenly criticizing those who bravely defend them, of slouching idly against the strong pillars that support them.

Nobody need pity the "nons" because they already are near to drowning in self-pity. Nobody need indulge the "nons" because they already are wallowing in self-indulgence. Nobody need praise the "nons" because they already are swollen with self-praise.

Truth is, the "nons" don't really need the majority of us except for one thing—our remaining exactly as we are. For so long as we study hard, try hard, think hard, work hard, produce, and fight hard, the "nons" can go right on subjecting us to their merely negative fix on all our beliefs, institutions and practices. While we work and save, earn and pay, the "nons" just abstain and complain.

It seems the "nons" haven't a worry in the world. Why should they? After all, the majority of us are with it so that the "nons" can dig it for free.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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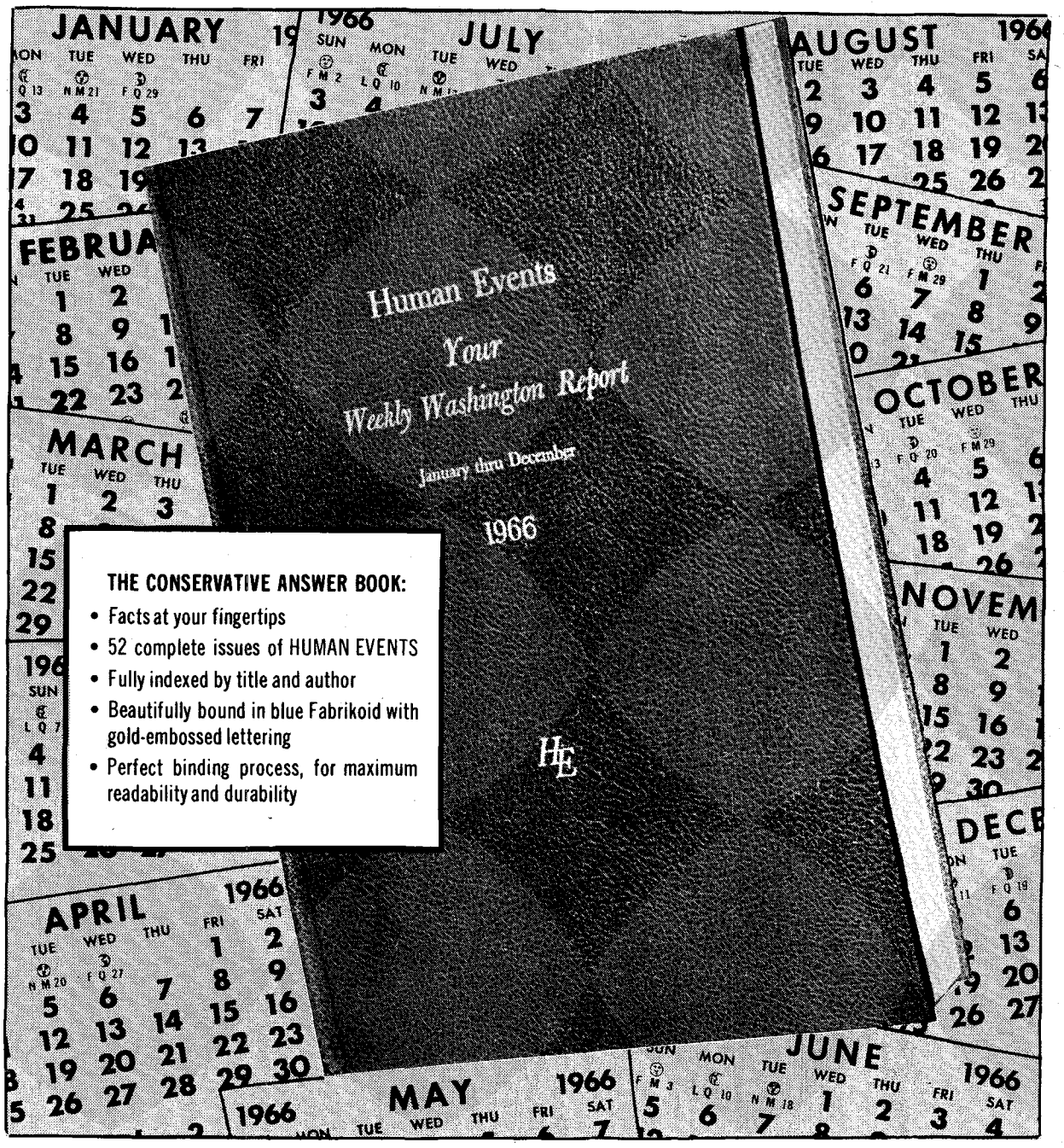
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